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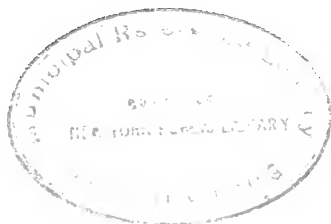
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THE HANDBOOK SERIES

AMERICANIZATION

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICANISM
ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION
TECHNIC OF RACE-ASSIMILATION
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled and Edited by
WINTHROP TALBOT, A. B., M. D.



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EXPLANATORY NOTE

This volume on Americanism and Americanization is offered as a means for further clarifying our national thought in regard to present vital problems. From the Elder Statesmen and writers of today essential excerpts are quoted briefly. These writings have not been readily accessible to many, and yet they should be known to all of us, native-born and new citizens alike, in order that we may all become better Americans.

The chapters on Americanism and Americanization are a digest of American philosophy in relation to those ideals and principles which inform American life. The chapter on Technic of Race-Assimilation is a compendium of practice, giving the details of assimilation-methods in education, industry, politics, and everyday living. The annotated Bibliography is a helpful selected list of books on Americanism and Americanization. The titles relating to Race-assimilation include all the available periodical references since 1900. The whole volume constitutes a reference book of unique value to everyone who believes in America as a world force for civilization and democracy as opposed to exploitation and autocracy.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sometimes workers in the same field have had neither time nor opportunity to become sufficiently acquainted with each other, and sometimes we are narrowly absorbed in what we vision as fields particularly our own and are lacking in awareness of the accomplishments of others along lines which are parallel with or closely related to our own, so perhaps this Bibliography may serve as a welcome introduction to kindred spirits.

It has seemed best to limit the bibliographical matter somewhat narrowly. There are few topics in our social field which do not bear in some respect or degree, and oftentimes materially, upon Americanism and the process of Americanization. An effort has been made to list writings which outline succinctly the

- (a) philosophy of nationality
- (b) meaning of Americanism and its spirit of contribution
- (c) essential nature of the American political constitution
- (d) mechanism of Americanization at home and abroad

Effective Americanism is based upon ability to share thought, therefore unity of language is essential to effective Americanism. The bibliography of English to immigrants has been treated fully by the writer in a "Bibliography of textbooks for teaching the English language; dictionaries into English; and aids to librarians" issued as a Government bulletin by the United States Bureau of Education.

A comprehensive bibliography of Americanization should include the following topics:

Illiteracy

Education: compulsory; workers' classes; evening schools; in the home; by libraries; by social organizations; by newspapers and the foreign language press.

Immigrant aid

Government aid to immigrants and farmers

Problems of living: housing; recreation; sanitation; markets

Naturalization and nationality

Naturalization and immigration

Handbooks of naturalization

Citizenship

Citizenship in domestic and international law
Relations of the churches to city and industrial problems
Municipal activities
Bibliographies of immigration
Bibliographies of cooperation
Immigrants in the United States by races
Books about immigrants and their home countries
Fine arts and the immigrant
Industry and the immigrant.

Such a bibliography has also been prepared by the writer, but must be published in another volume.

For those who are interested especially in work conditions, work relations, and industrial education, reference may be made to the writer's "Select bibliography on the helpful relations of employers and employed." (Cleveland, 1912)

This bibliography is divided into its several topics in such a way as to be of use in indicating clearly the complexity, extent, and importance of Americanism, Americanization, and Race-assimilation in America.

WINTHROP TALBOT.

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"When our boys and girls in high schools are hunting for material with which to debate the Japanese problem, they find gratis in our libraries some or all of the following books: Books by Sidney L. Gulick, who in himself represents the Japanese, the Japan Societies, the Peace Societies and the Christian Church pro-Japanese movement; books by K. K. Kawakami, manager of one of the Japanese Press Bureaus in America; books by H. H. Millis, made for the Federal Council of Churches as a basis for its pro-Japanese campaign; books by the Japan Society of New York . . . and the Bulletin, edited by the Japanese Society." P. 111.

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- Published the second and fourth Thursdays of each month in the interests of the foreign-born population by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. \$2. Editors: Louis N. Hammerling, Armour Caldwell, Ira E. Bennett.
- The total number of newspapers comprising this association is 742. These papers are published in 35 States and are printed in 30 languages. The total sworn circulations of these newspapers are over 8,000,000; their combined capital is \$27,000,000. The total foreign-speaking population reached is, according to the United States Census of 1910, over 32,000,000.
- Immigration Journal. W. W. Husband, editor. Published by the Immigration Journal Company, Washington, D.C.
- A monthly magazine devoted exclusively to immigration and closely related subjects. Its purpose is to discuss impartially all phases of immigration, including immigration after the war and Oriental immigration; to present without prejudice current information on the immigration movement and the immigrant as a factor in the population of the United States; to report the activities of the federal government with relation to immigration and naturalization; the progress of immigration legislation in Congress; the acts of state and municipal governments concerning aliens; the work of the various organizations interested in immigration and immi-

grants, and court decisions relative to all phases, and to support every movement that is sensibly and honestly directed to Americanizing the immigrants and developing the best that is in them.

Subscription price, \$1.00; for foreign countries, \$1.25. The first number appeared March, 1916.

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PART I

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICANISM

AMERICANISM

WINTHROP TALBOT.

Americanism is an attitude of mind upholding certain principles. Among these principles are: that mankind is endowed with unalienable rights which no laws may abrogate or nullify; that among unalienable rights of humankind are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that government shall be a government of laws, not men; that laws shall be enacted through representatives elected by general suffrage; that the welfare of all shall be paramount to the privileges of the individual; that the will of the majority shall prevail only when not imperilling basic rights of humanity; and finally that enjoyment of American privileges implies corresponding obligations in personal contribution and service by each for all, in upholding law, and in orderly administration or repeal of measures enacted by representatives.

Americanism is a matter of the spirit, to be regarded and approached in a spirit of truth. It breaks down race and class prejudice. It requires ability to read the printed page, for it depends upon sharing thought; thus resting upon general intelligence and power to cooperate, Americanism makes democracy possible. Americanism implies freedom, but never can become complete until freedom is attained everywhere and everywise, for each is limited by the ability of all individuals to experience, and to act together with understanding.

We are Americanized when our attitude of mind is in accord with these fundamental American principles of government and conduct, when our judgment accepts them as sound and our industrial, civic, and home practice and mode of living conform with American standards. Our religious tenets and habits may not be antagonistic to essential Americanism. We must show consideration for rights of others and express it through toleration and courtesy. "We" and "our" embrace native-born and alien, for our foreign-born, although speaking no English and dwelling again in their home lands, may yet be more truly Americanized than such straight descendants of Pilgrim and Puritan stock as may have habits of thought and conduct which are undemocratic, intolerant, and unfraternal. Chance of birth and the

fortune of inheritance may as easily keep from sharing in Americanism the Bostonian as the native of Bangkok.

Americanism as an Ideal

As Americans if we could but grasp the elementary fact that Americanism is always partial and incomplete, an ideal to be sought but never fully to be attained because always in its perfection just beyond our reach, how much better Americans might we ourselves become, and how far more potent missionaries of the gospel of Americanism would we be. If our newcomers, too, could but realize that Americanism ever is to be, and that they are helping in its making, their enthusiasms would be strengthened, not shattered, and their power to contribute extended.

No other form of government rests on the fact that there exist human rights which are unalienable. In all republics save ours the will of the majority knows no limit, but Americanism denies that even the will of the majority may legislate concerning fundamental rights of humanity.

In our relation with the world the literature of Americanization has now become important. It is not only Americanism as a philosophy of life that claims our study, but also the practical means of applying Americanism to the solution of complex world problems, and these we hope to visualize to our readers in this Handbook.

It is with the hope of further clarifying our conception of what Americanism is and how to apply effectively our national mechanism of Americanization that this Handbook has been compiled. More than all our need is to comprehend our own possibilities as a nation and to realize not only that our duties concern ourselves and those dependent upon us, but that in the great family of nations of which we are one, oceans no longer are barriers to keep us from sharing the thought and need of all.

Americanization a World-process

Some of us seem unaware that this process of Americanization is proceeding rapidly throughout the whole world. Even since 1900, during a short fifteen years, four million emigrants or one quarter of the immigrants arriving on our shores have returned to their own lands, bearing with them the essential ideas of Americanism. It is our emigrant aliens who have been Americanizing the world. It is they who have carried far and wide

the dominant ideas of democracy. In America they have found free schooling. In America they have discovered that freedom of the mind which comes from sharing thought. In America they have been exploited, but in America they have also found the best remedy for exploitation—free, general, and public schooling. They come to us as aliens; they go to their home lands as Americans. They return to America, it may be, but always they are missionaries of democracy among their own peoples.

In view of this world movement and wide extension of American principles the time now has come to collate the literature of Americanization. In this volume an attempt has been made to present the principles of Americanism formulated by the Elder Statesmen as well as those later interpretations by contemporaneous leaders who have been compelled to grapple with the larger American life of to-day and its complex industrial, social, and political problems. In order to grasp the meaning of Americanization, some presentation of Americanism in its larger sense seemed to be prerequisite.

For many years America has had to deal with the technical side of assimilation of so many alien races that there has gradually grown up a real technic of Americanization. In this Handbook this technic has been outlined and in a large degree the sources of information upon this subject are detailed.

It is hoped that this volume may bear a message of larger Humanism and be a means of strengthening our faith in human capacities and progress. May it be in some measure a source of inspiration to all Americans and aliens alike who are fighting the battle of Human Right as against Special Privilege, of Democracy as against Autocracy, not only in this Garden of the West, but in foreign lands as well.

AMERICA

FROM THE NATIONAL ODE, JULY 4, 1876.

BAYARD TAYLOR

POET, JOURNALIST, TRAVELLER, WORKER FOR AMERICA.

Foreseen in the vision of sages
Foretold when martyrs bled,
She was born of the longing of ages,
By the truth of the noble dead
And the faith of the living fed!
No blood in her lightest veins
Frets at remembered chains
Nor shame of bondage has bowed her head.
In her form and features still
The unblenching Puritan will,
Cavalier honor, Huguenot grace,
The Quaker truth and sweetness,
And the strength of the danger-girdled race
Of Holland, blend in a proud completeness.
From the homes of all where her being began
She took what she gave to Man;
Justice, that knew no station,
Belief, as soul decreed,
Free air for aspiration,
Free force for independent deed!
She takes but to give again,
As the sea returns the rivers in rain;
And gathers the chosen of her seed
From the hunted of every crown and creed.
Her Germany dwells by a gentler Rhine;
Her Ireland sees the old sunburst shine;
Her France pursues some dream divine;
Her Norway keeps his mountain pine;
Her Italy waits by the western brine;
And, broad-based under all,
Is planted England's oaken-hearted mood,
As rich in fortitude
As e'er went worldward from the island wall!
Fused in her candid light,
To one strong race all races here unite;
Tongues melt in hers, hereditary foemen
Forget their sword and slogan, kith and clan.
'Twas glory once to be a Roman:
She makes it glory, now to be a man!

AMERICANISM

THE COMPACT OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

MADE ON BOARD THE "MAYFLOWER" BEFORE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH IN 1620. THIS AGREEMENT BECAME THE BASIS FOR CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA.

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of ye faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of ye Christian faith and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick; for our better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye II of November in ye year of the raigne of our sovereigne Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth.

Anno Dom. 1620.

In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself at *Westminster*, ye tenth Day of *April*, in ye fourth Year of our Reign of *England, France, and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the nine and thirtieth.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS (1620)

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY

IRISH PATRIOT, IMMIGRANT, AMERICAN, EDITOR, POET, MAN

Here, where the shore was rugged as the waves,
 Where frozen nature dumb and leafless lay,
 And no rich meadows bade the Pilgrims stay,
 Was spread the symbol of the life that saves:
 To conquer first the outer things; to make
 Their own advantage, unallied, unbound;
 Their blood the mortar, building from the ground;
 Their cares the statutes, making all anew;
 To learn to trust the many, not the few;
 To bend the mind to discipline; to break
 The bonds of old convention, and forget
 The claims and barriers of class; to face
 A desert land, a strange and hostile race,
 And conquer both to friendship by the debt
 That Nature pays to justice, love, and toil.
 Here, on this rock, and on this sterile soil,
 Began the kingdom not of kings, but men:
 Began the making of the world again.
 Here centuries sank, and from the hither brink
 A new world reached and raised an old-world link,
 When English hands, by wider vision taught,
 Threw down the feudal bars the Normans brought,
 And here revived, in spite of sword and stake,
 Their ancient freedom of the Wapentake!
 Here struck the seed—the Pilgrims' roofless town,
 Where equal rights and equal bonds were set,
 Where all the people equal-franchised met;
 Where doom was writ of privilege and crown;
 Where human breath blew all the idols down;
 Where crests were nought, where vulture flags were furled,
 And common men began to own the world!

* * * * *

Give praise to others, early-come or late,
 For love and labor on our ship of state;
 But this must stand above all fame and zeal:
 The Pilgrim Fathers laid the ribs and keel.

On their strong lines we base our social health—
 The man—the home—the town—the commonwealth!

* * * * *

In every land wherever might holds sway
 The Pilgrims' leaven is at work to-day.
 The Mayflower's cabin was the chosen womb
 Of light predestined for the nations' gloom.
 God grant that those who tend the sacred flame
 May worthy prove of their Forefathers' name.
 More light has come—more dangers, too, perplex:
 New prides, new greeds, our high conditions vex.
 The Fathers fled from feudal lords, and made
 A freehold state; may we not retrograde
 To lucre-lords and hierarchs of trade.
 May we, as they did, teach in court and school,
 There must be classes, but no class shall rule:

* * * * *

As Nature works with changeless grain on grain,
 The truths the Fathers taught we need again.
 Depart from this, though we may crowd our shelves,
 With codes and precepts for each lapse and flaw,
 And patch our moral leaks with statute law,
 We cannot be protected from ourselves!
 Still must we keep in every stroke and vote
 The law of conscience that the Pilgrims wrote;
 Our seal their secret: LIBERTY CAN BE;
 THE STATE IS FREEDOM IF THE TOWN IS FREE.
 The death of nations in their work began;
 They sowed the seed of federated Man.
 Dead nations were but robber-holds; and we
 The first battalion of Humanity!
 All living nations, while our eagles shine,
 One after one, shall swing into our line;
 Our freedom heritage shall be the guide
 And bloodless order of their regicide;
 The sea shall join, not limit; mountains stand
 Dividing farm from farm, not land from land.
 O people's Voice! when farthest thrones shall hear;

* * * * *

The Pilgrims' Vision is accomplished here!

NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND

SAMUEL ADAMS (1772)

ADVOCATE OF NATURAL RIGHTS OF HUMAN KIND, ORGANIZER OF
AMERICAN REVOLUTION, GOVERNOR.

It is the greatest absurdity to suppose it in the power of one or any number of men at the entering into society, to renounce their essential natural rights, or the means of preserving those rights when the great end of civil government from the very nature of its institution is for the support, protection and defence of those very rights; the principle of which as is before observed, are life, liberty and property. If men through fear, fraud, or mistake, should *in terms* renounce and give up any essential natural right, society would absolutely vacate such renunciation; the right to freedom being *the gift* of God Almighty, it is not in the power of Man to alienate this gift, and voluntarily become a slave.

Samuel Adams, *Writings*. 355 (N. Y., 1901).THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:
PREAMBLE (1776)

THOMAS JEFFERSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1800-1808.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the gov-

erned,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Charles Sumner, *Works* (Boston, 1874), V. 251-252.

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle but not all its limitations:

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:

Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none:

The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies:

The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad:

A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided :

Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism :

A well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war until regulars may relieve them :

The supremacy of the civil over the military authority :

Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened :

The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith :

Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its hand-maid :

The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason :

Freedom of religion :

Freedom of the press :

And freedom of person under the protection of the *Habeas Corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected.

These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust, and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

McLaughlin, *Readings in American History*, 110-11, New York, 1914.

MEANING OF THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE (1858-1859)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1860-1865

I think the authors of that notable instrument (Declaration of Independence) intended to include all men; but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with “certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” This they said, and this they meant. . . . They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that “all men are created equal” was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be, as thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

It is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail, utterly, with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them “glittering generalities.” Another bluntly calls them “self-evident lies.” And others insidiously argue that they apply only to “superior races.”

These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the van-guard—the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*. 2:87-183: (N. Y., 1890).

MASSACHUSETTS DECLARATION OF RIGHTS (1780.)

SIMILAR DECLARATIONS OF RIGHTS WERE MADE BY OTHER STATES,
NOTABLY VIRGINIA, CONNECTICUT AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787
FOR THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AND ARE THE BASES OF
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life: and whenever these great objects are not obtained the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals: it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a con-

stitution of government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as an impartial interpretation and a faithful execution of them; that every man may, at all times, find his security in them.

We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the goodness of the great Legislator of the universe, in affording us, in the course of His providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other; and of forming a new constitution of civil government, for ourselves and posterity; and devoutly imploring his direction in so interesting a design, do agree upon, ordain and establish, the following *Declaration of Rights, and Frame of Government*, as the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Article. I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

II. It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested or restrained, in his person, liberty or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession of sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

III. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provisions, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public

Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid toward the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law: and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

IV. The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent state; and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

V. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

VI. No man, nor corporation, or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public;

and this title being in nature neither hereditary, nor transmissible to children, or descendants, or relations by blood, the idea of a man born a magistrate, law-giver, or judge, is absurd and unnatural.

VII. Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men: Therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government; and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it.

VIII. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain regular elections and appointments.

IX. All elections ought to be free; and all the inhabitants of this commonwealth, having such qualifications as they shall establish by their frame of government, have an equal right to elect officers, and to be elected, for public employments.

X. Each individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expense of this protection; to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary: but no part of the property of any individual can, with justice, be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people. In fine, the people of this commonwealth, are not controllable by any other laws than those to which their constitutional representative body have given their consent. And whenever the public exigencies require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

XI. Every subject of the commonwealth ought to find a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without

being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial; promptly, and without any delay; conformably to the laws.

XII. No subject shall be held to answer for any crimes or offence, until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally, described to him; or be compelled to accuse, or furnish evidence against himself. And every subject shall have a right to produce all proofs that may be favorable to him; to meet the witnesses against him face to face, and to be fully heard in his defence by himself, or his counsel at his election. And no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

And the legislature shall not make any law that shall subject any person to a capital or infamous punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury.

XIII. In criminal prosecutions, the verification of facts, in the vicinity where they happen, is one of the greatest securities of the life, liberty and property of the citizen.

XIV. Every subject has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches, and seizures, of his person, his houses, his papers, and all his possessions. All warrants, therefore, are contrary to this right, if the cause or foundation of them be not previously supported by oath or affirmation, and if the order in the warrant to a civil officer, to make search in suspected places, or to arrest one or more suspected persons, or to seize their property, be not accompanied with a special designation of the persons or objects of search, arrest, or seizure; and no warrant ought to be issued but in cases, with the formalities prescribed by the laws.

XV. In all controversies concerning property, and in all suits between two or more persons, except in cases in which it has heretofore been otherways used and practised, the parties have a right to a trial by jury; and this method of procedure shall be held sacred, unless in causes arising on the high seas, and such as relate to mariners' wages, the legislature shall hereafter find it necessary to alter it.

XVI. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to be restricted in this commonwealth.

XVII. The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

XVIII. A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government. The people ought, consequently, to have a particular attention to all those principles, in the choice of their officers and representatives: and they have a right to require of their lawgivers and magistrates an exact and constant observance of them, in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of the commonwealth.

XIX. The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by the way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer.

XX. The power of suspending the laws, or the execution of the laws, ought never to be exercised but by the legislature, or by authority derived from it, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the legislature shall expressly provide for.

XXI. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either house of the legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any accusation or prosecution, action or complaint, in any other court or place whatsoever.

XXII. The legislature ought frequently to assemble for the redress of grievances, for correcting, strengthening, and confirming the laws, and for making new laws, as the common good may require

XXIII. No subsidy charge, tax, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people or their representatives in the legislature.

XXIV. Laws made to punish for actions done before the existence of such laws, are unjust, oppressive, and inconsistent with the fundamental principles of a free government.

XXV. No subject ought, in any case, or in any time, to be declared guilty of treason or felony by the legislature.

XXVI. No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

XXVII. In time of peace, no soldier ought to be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, such quarters ought not to be made but by the civil magistrate, in a manner ordained by the legislature.

XXVIII. No person can in any case be subject to law-martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service, but by authority of the legislature.

XXIX. It is essential to the preservation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property, and character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws, and administration of the laws, and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as free, impartial, and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. It is, therefore, not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people, and every citizen, that the judges of the supreme judicial court should hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well; and that they should have honorable salaries ascertained and established by standing laws.

XXX. In the government of this commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them: the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them: the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them: to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW AS THE
BASIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1849)

CHARLES SUMNER

SCHOLAR, JURIST, ORATOR, UNITED STATES SENATOR, DEFENDER OF
FREEDOM

The way is now prepared to consider the nature of Equality, as secured by the Constitution of Massachusetts. The Declaration of Independence, which followed the French Encyclopedia and the political writings of Rousseau, announces among self-evident truths, "*that all men are created equal*; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Constitution of Massachusetts repeats the same truth in a different form, saying, in its first article: "*All men are born free and equal*, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties." Another article explains what is meant by Equality, saying: "No man, nor corporation, or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public; and this title being in nature neither hereditary, nor transmissible to children, or descendants, or relations by blood, the idea of a man being born a magistrate, law-giver, or judge, is absurd and unnatural." This language, in its natural signification, condemns every form of inequality in civil and political institutions.

These declarations, though in point of time before the ampler declarations of France, may be construed in the light of the latter. Evidently, they seek to declare the same principle. They are declarations of *Rights*; and the language employed, though general in character, is obviously limited to those matters within the design of a declaration of *Rights*. And permit me to say, it is a childish sophism to adduce any physical or mental inequality in argument against Equality of Rights.

Obviously, men are not born equal in physical strength or in mental capacity, in beauty of form, or health of body. Diversity or inequality in these respects is the law of creation. From this

difference springs divine harmony. But this inequality is in no particular inconsistent with complete civil and political equality.

The equality declared by our fathers in 1776, and made the fundamental law of Massachusetts in 1780, was *Equality before the Law*. Its object was to efface all political or civil distinctions, and to abolish all institutions founded upon *birth*. "All men are *created* equal," says the Declaration of Independence. These are not vain words. Within the sphere of their influence, no person can be *created*, no person can be *born*, with civil or political privileges not enjoyed equally by all his fellow-citizens; nor can any institution be established, recognizing distinction of birth. Here is the Great Charter of every human being drawing vital breath upon this soil, whatever may be his condition, and whoever may be his parents. He may be poor, humble, or black—he may be of Caucasian, Jewish, Indian, or Ethiopian race—he may be of French, German, English, or Irish extraction; but before the Constitution of Massachusetts all these distinctions disappear. He is not poor, weak, humble, or black; nor is he Caucasian, Jew, Indian, or Ethiopian; nor is he French, German, English, or Irish; he is a *MAN*, the equal of all his fellow-men. He is one of the children of the state, which, like an impartial parent, regards all its offspring with an equal care. To some it may justly allot higher duties, according to higher capacities; but it welcomes all to its equal hospitable board.

Works, II, 340-342. (Boston, 1875.)

LIMITS TO POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY (1860)

CHARLES SUMNER

All hail to Popular Sovereignty in its true glory! This is the grand principle, first announced in the Declaration of Independence, which is destined to regenerate the world. It is embodied in those famous words, adopted by the Republican Convention at Chicago, that among the unalienable rights of all men are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed*." These are sacred words, full of life-giving energy. Not simply national

independence was here proclaimed, but also the primal rights of all mankind. Then and there appeared the Angel of Human Liberation, speaking and acting at once with heaven-born strength—breaking bolts, unloosing bonds, and opening prison-doors—always ranging on its mighty errand, wherever there are any, no matter of what country or race, who struggle for rights denied—now cheering Garibaldi at Naples as it had cheered Washington in the snows of Valley Forge—and especially visiting all who are down-trodden whispering that there is none so poor as to be without rights which every man is bound to respect.

But the great Declaration, not content with announcing certain rights as unalienable, and therefore beyond the control of any government, still further restrains the sovereignty which it asserts, by simply declaring that the United States have "full power to do all acts and things which independent states may OF RIGHT do." Here is a well-defined limitation upon Popular Sovereignty. The dogma of Tory lawyer and pamphleteers—put forward to sustain the claim of Parliamentary omnipotence, and vehemently espoused by Dr. Johnson in his "Taxation no Tyranny"—was, openly, that *sovereignty* is in its nature *il-limitable*, precisely as is now loosely professed by Mr. Douglas for his handful of squatters. But this dogma is distinctly discarded in the Declaration, and it is frankly proclaimed that all *sovereignty* is subordinate to the rule of *Right*. Mark, now, the difference. All existing governments at that time, even the local governments of the Colonies, stood on *Power*, without limitation. Here was a new government, which, taking its place among the nations, announced that it stood only on *Right* and claimed no sovereignty inconsistent with *Right*. Such, again, is the Popular Sovereignty of the Declaration of Independence.

Works (Boston, 1874), V. 251-252.

HIS LAST PROTEST AGAINST
SLAVERY (1859)

JOHN BROWN

AMERICAN, FARMER, SEEKER FOR JUSTICE, LIBERATOR

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things "whatsoever I would that men should do unto me I should do even so to them." It teaches me further, to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of HIS despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments—I submit: so let it be done.

James Redpath, *The Public Life of Captain John Brown*, p. 341. Boston. 1860.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.
(NOVEMBER 19 1863)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

PRESIDENT. 1860 TO 1865. LIBERATOR

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war; testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE LAND WHERE HATE SHOULD DIE

DENIS A. MCCARTHY

This is the land where hate should die—
No feuds of faith, no spleen of race,
No darkly brooding fear should try
Beneath our flag to find a place.
Lo! every people here has sent
Its sons to answer freedom's call;
Their lifeblood is the strong cement
That builds and binds the nation's wall.

This is the land where hate should die—
Though dear to me my faith and shrine,
I serve my country well when I
Respect the creeds that are not mine.
He little loves the land who'd cast
Upon his neighbor's word a doubt,
Or cite the wrongs of ages past
From present rights to bar him out.

This is the land where hate should die—
This is the land where strife should cease,
Where foul, suspicious fear should fly
Before the light of love and peace.
Then let us purge from poisoned thought
That service to the state we give,
And so be worthy as we ought
Of this great land in which we live!

Heart Songs and Home Songs, p. 21, Boston. Little, Brown and Company,
1916.

AN IMMIGRANT'S IMPRESSION OF AMERICA (1852)

CARL SCHURZ

GERMAN IMMIGRANT, GENERAL, DIPLOMAT, SENATOR, SECRETARY OF
THE INTERIOR

It is true, indeed, that the first sight of this country fills one with dumb amazement. Here you see the principle of individual freedom carried to its ultimate consequences: voluntarily made laws treated with contempt; in another place you notice the crassest religious fanaticism venting itself in brutal acts; on the one hand you see the great mass of the laboring people in complete freedom striving for emancipation, and by their side the speculative spirit of capital plunging into unheard of enterprises; here is a party that calls itself Democratic and is at the same time the mainstay of the institution of slavery; there another party thunders against slavery but bases all its arguments on the authority of the Bible and mentally is incredibly abject in its dependence—at one time it displays an impetuous impulse for emancipation, while at another it has an active lust for oppression—all these in complete liberty, moving in a confused tumult, one with the other, one by the side of the other. The democrat just arrived from Europe, who has so far lived in a world of ideas and has had no opportunity to see these ideas put into actual, sound practice, will ask himself, hesitatingly: Is this, indeed, a free people? Is this a real democracy? Is democracy a fact if it shelters under one cloak such conflicting principles? Is this my ideal? Thus he will doubtfully question himself, as he steps into this new, really *new world*. . . .

Yes, this is humanity when it is free. Liberty breaks the chain of development. All strength, all weakness, all that is good, all that is bad, is here in full view and in free activity. The struggle of principles goes on unimpeded; outward before we can gain inner freedom. He who wishes liberty must not be surprised if men do not appear better than they are. Freedom is the only state in which it is possible for men to learn to know themselves, in which they show themselves as they really are. It is true, the ideal is not necessarily evolved, but it would be an unhappy thought to force the ideal in spite of humanity. . . .

Every glance into the political life of America strengthens my convictions that the aim of a revolution can be nothing else than to make room for the will of the people—in other words, to break every authority which has its organization in the life of the state, and, as far as is possible, to overturn the barriers to individual liberty. The will of the people will have its fling and indulge in all kinds of foolishness—but that is its way; if you want to show it the way and then give it liberty of action, it will, nevertheless, commit its own follies. Each one of these follies clears away something, while the wisest thing that is done for the people accomplishes nothing until the popular judgment has progressed far enough to be able to do it for itself. Until then, conditions must stand *a force de l'autorité*, or they will totter. But if they exist by the force of authority, then democracy is in a bad way. Here in America you can every day see how slightly a people needs to be governed. In fact, the thing that is not named in Europe without a shudder, anarchy, exists here in full bloom. Here are governments, but no rules—governors, but they are clerks. . . . It is only here that you realize how superfluous governments are in many affairs in which, in Europe, they are considered entirely indispensable, and how the possibility of doing something inspires a desire to do it.

Carl Schurz, Writings. 1:5-8. (N. Y., 1913.)

WOMAN IN AMERICA (1853)

FREDRIKA BREMER

WRITER, TRAVELLER, REFORMER, PHILANTHROPIST, SWEDISH MISSIONER OF AMERICANISM

The ideal of the man of America seems to me to be, purity of intention, decision in will, energy in action, simplicity and gentleness in manner and demeanor. Hence it is that there is something tender and chivalric in his behaviour to woman which is infinitely becoming to him. In every woman he respects his own mother.

In the same way it appeared to me that the ideal of the woman of America, of the woman of the New World, is, independence in character, gentleness of demeanor and manner.

The American's ideal of happiness seems to me to be, marriage and a home, combined with public activity. To have a wife, his own house and home, his own little piece of land; to take care of these, and to beautify them, at the same time doing some good to the state or to the city—this seems to me to be the object of life with most men; a journey to Europe to see perfected cities—and ruins belong to it—as a desirable episode.

Of the American home I have seen enough and heard enough for me to be able to say that the women have, in general, all the rule there which they wish to have. Woman is the centre and the lawgiver in the home of the New World, and the American man loves that it should be so. He wishes that his wife should have her own will at home, and he loves to obey it. In proof of this, I have heard the words of a young man quoted: "I hope that my wife will have her own will in the house, and if she has not I'll make her have it!" I must, however, say, that in the happy homes in which I lived I saw the wife equally careful to guide herself by the wishes of her husband as he was to indulge hers. Affection and sound reason make all things equal.

The educational institutions for woman are, in general, most superior to those of Europe; and perhaps the most important work which America is doing for the future of humanity consists in her treatment and education of woman.

Woman's increasing value as a teacher, and the employment of her as such in public schools, even in those for boys, is a public fact in these States which greatly delights me. Seminaries have been established to educate her for this vocation. I hope to be able to visit that at West Newton, in the neighborhood of Boston, and which was originated by Horace Mann. It even seems as if the daughters of New England had a peculiar faculty and love for this employment. Young girls of fortune devote themselves to it. The daughters of poor farmers go to work in the manufactories a sufficient time to earn the necessary sum to put themselves to school, and thus to become teachers in due course. Whole crowds of school-teachers go hence to the Western and Southern States, where schools are daily being established and placed under their direction. The young daughters of New England are universally commended for their character and ability. Even Waldo Emerson, who does not easily praise, spoke in commendation of them. They learn in the schools the

classics, mathematics, physics, algebra, with great ease, and pass their examinations like young men. Not long since a young lady in Nantucket, not far from Boston, distinguished herself in astronomy, discovered a new planet, and received, in consequence, a medal from the King of Prussia.

Homes of the New World. 1:190-91. New York. 1853.

* Miss Maria Mitchell, professor of astronomy at Vassar College.

ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENSHIP CONVENTION

WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 13, 1916

WOODROW WILSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It is not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and women who press into this country from other countries that we should leave them without that friendly and intimate instruction which will enable them very soon after they come to find out what America is like at heart and what America is intended for among the nations of the world.

I believe that the chief school that these people must attend after they get here is the school which all of us attend, which is furnished by the life of the communities in which we live and the nation to which we belong. It has been a very touching thought to me sometimes to think of the hopes which have drawn these people to America. I have no doubt that many a simple soul has been thrilled by that great statue standing in the harbor of New York and seeming to lift the light of liberty for the guidance of the feet of men; and I can imagine that they have expected here something ideal in the treatment that they will receive, something ideal in the laws which they would have to live under, and it has caused me many a time to turn upon myself the eye of examination to see whether there burned in me the true light of the American spirit which they expected to find here. It is easy, my fellow-citizens, to communicate physical lessons, but it is very difficult to communicate spiritual lessons. America was intended to be a spirit among the nations of the world, and it is the purpose of conferences like this to find out the best way to introduce the newcomers to this spirit, and by

that very interest in them to enhance and purify in ourselves the thing that ought to make America great and not only ought to make her great, but ought to make her exhibit a spirit unlike any other nation in the world.

I have never been among those who felt comfortable in boasting of the superiority of America over other countries. The way to cure yourself of that is to travel in other countries and find out how much of nobility and character and fine enterprise there is everywhere in the world. The most that America can hope to do is to show, it may be, the finest example, not the only example, of the things that ought to benefit and promote the progress of the world.

So my interest in this movement is as much an interest in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection; whereas, if we are not genuine Americans, there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution,—which I find very few persons understand,—no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty. My interest in this movement is, therefore, a two-fold interest. I believe it will assist us to become self-conscious in respect of the fundamental ideas of American life. When you ask a man to be loyal to a government, if he comes from some foreign countries, his idea is that he is expected to be loyal to a certain set of persons like a ruler or a body set in authority over him, but that is not the American idea. Our idea is that he is to be loyal to certain objects in life, and that the only reason he has a President and a Congress and a Governor and a State Legislature and courts is that the community shall have instrumentalities by which to promote those objects. It is a cooperative organization expressing itself in this Constitution, expressing itself in these laws, intending to express itself in the exposition of those laws by the courts; and the idea of America is not so much that men are to be restrained and punished by the law as instructed and guided by the law. That is the reason so many hopeful reforms come to grief. A law cannot work until it expresses the spirit of the community for which it is enacted, and if you try to enact into law what expresses only the spirit of a small coterie or of a small minority, you know, or at any rate

you ought to know, beforehand that it is not going to work. The object of the law is that there, written upon these pages, the citizen should read the record of the experience of this state and nation; what they have concluded it is necessary for them to do because of the life they have lived and the things that they have discovered to be elements in that life. So that we ought to be careful to maintain a government at which the immigrant can look with the closest scrutiny and to which he should be at liberty to address this question: "You declare this to be a land of liberty and of equality and of justice; have you made it so by your law?" We ought to be able in our schools, in our night schools and in every other method of instructing these people, to show them that that has been our endeavor. We cannot conceal from them long the fact that we are just as human as any other nation, that we are just as selfish, that there are just as many mean people amongst us as anywhere else, that there are just as many people here who want to take advantage of other people as you can find in other countries, just as many cruel people, just as many people heartless when it comes to maintaining and promoting their own interest; but you can show that our object is to get these people in harness and see to it that they do not do any damage and are not allowed to indulge the passions which would bring injustice and calamity at last upon a nation whose object is spiritual and not material.

America has built up a great body of wealth. America has become, from the physical point of view, one of the most powerful nations in the world, a nation which if it took the pains to do so, could build that power up into one of the most formidable instruments in the world, one of the most formidable instruments of force, but which has no other idea than to use its force for ideal objects and not for self-aggrandizement.

We have been disturbed recently, my fellow-citizens, by certain symptoms which have showed themselves in our body politic. Certain men—I have never believed a great number—born in other lands, have in recent months thought more of those lands than they have of the honor and interest of the government under which they are now living. They have even gone so far as to draw apart in spirit and in organization from the rest of us to accomplish some special object of their own. I am not here going to utter any criticism of these people, but I want to say this, that such a thing as that is absolutely incompatible with the

fundamental idea of loyalty, and that loyalty is not a self-pleasing virtue. I am not bound to be loyal to the United States to please myself. I am bound to be loyal to the United States because I live under its laws and am its citizen, and whether it hurts me or whether it benefits me, I am obliged to be loyal. Loyalty means nothing unless it has at its heart the absolute principle of self-sacrifice. Loyalty means that you ought to be ready to sacrifice every interest that you have, and your life itself, if your country calls upon you to do so, and that is the sort of loyalty which ought to be inculcated into these newcomers, that they are not to be loyal only so long as they are pleased, but that, having once entered into this sacred relationship, they are bound to be loyal whether they are pleased or not; and that loyalty which is merely self-pleasing is only self-indulgence and selfishness. No man has ever risen to the real stature of spiritual manhood until he has found that it is finer to serve somebody else than it is to serve himself.

These are the conceptions which we ought to teach the newcomers into our midst, and we ought to realize that the life of every one of us is part of the schooling, and that we cannot preach loyalty unless we set the example, that we cannot profess things with any influence upon others unless we practice them also. This process of Americanization is going to be a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of re-dedication to the things which America represents and is proud to represent. And it takes a great deal more courage and steadfastness, my fellow-citizens, to represent ideal things than to represent anything else. It is easy to lose your temper, and hard to keep it. It is easy to strike and sometimes very difficult to refrain from striking, and I think you will agree with me that we are most justified in being proud of doing the things that are hard to do and not the things that are easy. You do not settle things quickly by taking what seems to be the quickest way to settle them. You may make the complication just that much the more profound and inextricable, and, therefore, what I believe America should exalt above everything else is the sovereignty of thoughtfulness and sympathy and vision as against the grosser impulses of mankind. No nation can live without vision, and no vision will exalt a nation except the vision of real liberty and real justice and purity of conduct.

PEACE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

HENRY VAN DYKE

PROFESSOR, POET, UNITED STATES MINISTER

O Lord our God, Thy mighty hand
Hath made our country free;
From all her broad and happy land
May praise arise to Thee.
Fulfill the promise of her youth,
Her liberty defend;
By law and order, love and truth,
America befriend!

The strength of every State increase
In Union's golden chain;
Her thousand cities fill with peace,
Her million fields with grain.
The virtues of her mingled blood
In one new people blend;
By unity and brotherhood,
America befriend!

O suffer not her feet to stray,
But guide her untaught might;
That she may walk in peaceful day,
And lead the world in light.
Bring down the proud, lift up the poor,
Unequal ways amend;
By justice, nation-wide and sure,
America befriend!

Thro' all the waiting land proclaim
Thy gospel of good-will;
And may the music of Thy name
In every bosom thrill.
O'er hill and vale, from sea to sea,
Thy holy reign extend;
By faith and hope and charity,
America befriend!

AMERICANISM: WHAT IT IS.

DAVID JAYNE HILL

COLLEGE PRESIDENT, PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR, HISTORIAN, MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

Long before Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote of the "Contrat Social," or John Locke of a "Civil Compact," a company of plain men, sailing over wintry seas to an unknown land with the purpose of escaping the too heavy hand of an absolute government, on November 11, 1620, as they were approaching the shores of what was afterward New England, drew up and signed in the cabin of their little ship a compact which expressed a new idea of human government. This was nearly thirty years before the famous "Agreement of the People" of 1647, in which the followers of Cromwell endeavored to establish for the security of their rights against the encroachments of arbitrary power a supreme law placed above the power of Parliament. The compact written in the Mayflower pledged the signers not only to frame for themselves "just and equal laws," but "to yield to them all due submission and obedience." Here was the beginning of real self-government.

There was nothing original in the mere fact of a written compact, for written compacts had long before been extorted from kings and emperors by popular uprisings. The new leaven was the voluntary submission to self-imposed law, as a means of securing a permanent guarantee of individual rights.

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New Conception of the State

For the first time since Europe emerged from primitive savagery, an opportunity was offered for the free exercise of intelligence in considering the fundamental problems of government, without interference on the part of arbitrary power and dynastic interests.

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The result was a new and distinctive conception of the State—a conception differing by the whole diameter of human experience from that which was then generally accepted in other parts of the world, not excepting England.

In what, then, did the new conception consist?

Distinctive American Doctrine

The American idea was that there are certain rights and liberties which should *never* be subject to abridgement by law, and that encroachments upon these rights and liberties by a portion—even by a majority—of the people, or by any government they might establish, should be, through a superior and permanent law, declared illegal. For this there was necessary a voluntary renunciation of power in accordance with fixed principles of justice.

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Essential Elements in The American Conception

In truth, success cannot be expected from any system of government unless the individuals who compose the State entertain respect for the personal rights and liberties of all. The moment a disposition prevails to deny these, or to impose a dominant will upon the community, the system of guarantees is undermined; and it is in its guarantees of personal liberty that the American conception consists. Local autonomy in all local matters, popular representation in State and National affairs, the federation of independent communities, a body of unalterable principles accepted in a fundamental law, judicial decision in the settlement of differences—these are essential elements in the American conception of the State.

* * * *

Friends and Enemies of Constitutionalism

The dangers to the American conception of constitutional government do not arise from the open opposition of its enemies, for in the field of free debate it is abundantly able to defend itself. Its real foes—and they are not few—are those who do not avowedly attack or resist it; but who, while professing to be its friends, and even its advocates, secretly repudiate or intentionally pervert its fundamental principles.

In contrast with the political absolutism which it was intended to destroy, and which it has endeavored to supersede, American constitutional government is based upon the principle of equal guarantees for the rights of all citizens, without distinction of persons or classes, under the protection of co-ordinate and distributed powers, exercised by public officers freely chosen

by the people, and revocable after fixed periods of office. Recognizing life, personal liberty, and property as elements of unalienable right, the American system of government aims to guard these from every form of violation.

The mere statement of the meaning of that system plainly indicates who are its natural enemies. These include all those who, in any form whatever, desire to make the State their private servant, and through control of the public powers use it to serve their own personal or class interests at the expense of others.

The division of men into friends and enemies of the American idea of constitutional government is based upon the attitude they assume toward its fundamental principle. This principle being the existence of equal and adequate guarantees, by which the life, the personal liberty, and the property of every citizen are rendered inviolate, every person and every organization that aims by means of exceptional legislation to secure special advantages to the detriment of others must be classed as an enemy of the American system, which—although not a guarantee of equal conditions, which is impossible—is essentially a guarantee of equal rights. . . .

A second method of attack upon the Federal Constitution is through the encroachment of one or more of the three divisions of public power upon the legitimate domain of others.

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The Needed Revival of Americanism

The only means of preventing the ultimate collapse of constitutionalism as conceived by the founders of this republic, and the only remedy if this calamity is in some degree already upon us, is a firm determination on the part of the people that arbitrary power in every form must be renounced; that life, liberty, and property shall still enjoy protection against any form of absolutism that may be asserted within the State.

To apply this remedy the country needs two things: first, to consider seriously the drift of the social forces now operating among us, with a view to forming a clear conception of the degree in which we are adhering to or departing from the spirit of conformity to just and equal laws; and, second, an active movement on the part of thoughtful citizens to oppose anti-constitutional tendencies.

Principles Versus Personalities

Naturally, in moments of indecision men look for leaders, but unless they look also for principles they look in vain. The choice must be made between experiment and experience, between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; in a word between political anarchy and constitutional government.

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Responsibility in a True Democracy

It is clear that the citizen must accept and obey some form of public authority; but it is equally clear that public authority must consent to limit itself before it goes so far as to invade the sanctuary of the personal freedom that is essential to individual responsibility.

The true solution is found in the American conception of the State, and in this voluntary self-limitation of power lies the true foundation of Democracy. In this system the citizen, being free, is himself responsible for government. He is a constituent, and not a mere subject, of the State. He acts through representatives whom he believes to be competent to deliberate wisely and conclude justly; but, in any case, they are his representatives, and are subject to his approbation or disapprobation. The government, whatever it is, is his government. If it be good, he must see that it is preserved and continued. If it be bad, he must see that it is reformed or discontinued. Whatever it is, he can never justly blame it. He can only blame himself.

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Democracy Versus Imperialism

This constitutional idea of the limited powers of government, and this alone, is really antithetical to Imperialism, whose watchword is unlimited power. Imperialism does not inquire or exhort, it commands and compels. It wants nothing of its subjects but abject submission and obedience. He is not, in its conception, a constituent of the State. He possesses no inherent rights. He can claim as his rights only what the government accords to him.

Who, then, is the government? The man who is in power and has the force to remain in power. In the imperial formula, "The will of the prince is law." Authority, in this conception of it, does not proceed from any source of responsibility toward men. The prince may be responsible to God, but not to man.

He renders an account to no one. For the subject his decision is final.

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Our Own Relation to Imperialism

We know, all of us, and it requires no special indictment of any nation to prove it, that the spirit of Imperialism still exists in the world, that it is not confined to one nation, that it is active, that it may somewhere be triumphant, or, what is worse, that it may somewhere be disappointed of its expectations, without being extinguished, and look for new fields of conquest. Some day we may have to resist the intrusion of it into our own sphere of responsibility; and what shall we do then? Shall we remain passive, or shall we act?

We know further that the greatest danger of all is the attempt to amalgamate the spirit of Imperialism with the spirit of Democracy; for this would probably result in the triumph of Imperialism in our own republic and the sapping of virtues of the democratic ideal. The truth is that there is a deadly incompatibility in the effort to serve two masters. If we really aim at empire, it is suicidal to cultivate Democracy. If we love Democracy, we must renounce the spirit of conquest and world domination. The two currents, coming together, serve to weaken the national energies and to paralyze the body politic.

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An American Platform of Principles

Eliminating from discussion, therefore, all that does not concern us as a nation, let us confine our attention to that which is vital to our national existence.

There are certain fundamental principles which all thoughtful American citizens unite in accepting. Among these are the propositions: that government should exist for the sake of the governed; that a just government is based upon the equal rights of all the people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, in consequence, governments, in their relation to one another, should recognize these rights; and that all governments, with due respect for the principles of humanity, should regulate their conduct by just laws, freely accepted and faithfully observed.

This simple creed needs no enlargement, and no argumentative justification. It is a platform of world politics upon which

all American citizens, irrespective of their ancestral origin or their partisan preferences, may unite. These doctrines are at once our birthright and a sacred trust. They are the lodestone that has attracted the oppressed of all nations to these shores. They have made us a great, a prosperous, and a mighty people. No true American wishes to withdraw allegiance to them, or would hesitate to shed the last drop of his blood in defense of them, if they were menaced with destruction.

Americanism: what it is. 14-15; 16; 16-17; 26; 41-2; 51-2; 62; 77-8; 133-5; 148-9; 175-7. New York. Appleton. 1916.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART (1915)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1901-1908

Let this nation fear God and take its own part. Let it scorn to do wrong to great or small. Let it exercise patience and charity toward all other peoples, and yet at whatever cost unflinchingly stand for the right when the right is menaced by the might which backs wrong. Let it furthermore remember that the only way in which successfully to oppose wrong which is backed by might is to put over against it right which is backed by might. Wanton or unjust war is an abhorrent evil. But there are even worse evils. Until, as a nation, we learn to put honor and duty above safety, and to encounter any hazard with stern joy rather than fail in our obligations to ourselves and others, it is mere folly to talk of entering into leagues for world peace or into any other movements of like character. The only kind of peace worth having is the peace of righteousness and justice; the only nation that can serve other nations is the strong and valiant nation; and the only great international policies worth considering are those whose upholders believe in them strongly enough to fight for them. The Monroe Doctrine is as strong as the United States navy, and no stronger. A nation is utterly contemptible if it will not fight in its own defence. A nation is not wholly admirable unless in time of stress it will go to war for a great ideal wholly unconnected with its immediate material interest.

Let us prepare not merely in military matters, but in our social and industrial life. There can be no sound relationship toward other nations unless there is also sound relationship among our own citizens within our own ranks. Let us insist on the thorough Americanization of the newcomers to our shores, and let us also insist on the thorough Americanization of ourselves. Let us encourage the fullest industrial activity, and give the amplest industrial reward to those whose activities are most important for securing industrial success, and at the same time let us see that justice is done and wisdom shown in securing the welfare of every man, woman, and child within our borders. Finally, let us remember that we can do nothing to help other peoples, and nothing permanently to secure material well-being and social justice within our own borders, unless we feel with all our hearts devotion to this country, unless we are Americans and nothing else, and unless in time of peace by universal military training, by insistence upon the obligations of every man and every woman to serve the commonwealth both in peace and war, and, above all, by a high and fine preparedness of soul and spirit, we fit ourselves to hold our own against all possible aggression from without.

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

The fundamental evil in this country is the lack of sufficiently general appreciation of the responsibility of citizenship. Unfair business methods, the misused power of capital, the unjustified activities of labor, pork-barrel legislation and graft among powerful politicians have all been made possible by, and have been manifestations of, this fundamental evil. Nothing would do more to remedy this evil than the kind of training in citizenship, in patriotism and in efficiency, which would come as the result of universal service on the Swiss or Australian models or rather on a combination of the two adapted to our needs. There should be military training, as part of a high-school education which should include all-round training for citizenship. This training should begin in the schools in serious fashion at about the age of 16. Then between the ages of 18 and 21 there should be six months actual and continuous service in the field with the colors.

Such universal training would give our young men the discipline, the sense of orderly liberty and of loyalty to the inter-

ests of the whole people which would tell in striking manner for national cohesion and efficiency. It would tend to enable us in time of need to mobilize not only troops but workers and financial resources and industry itself and to coordinate all the factors in national life. There can be no such mobilization and coordination until we appreciate the necessity and value of national organization; and universal service would be a most powerful factor in bringing about such general appreciation.

As a result of it, every man, whether he carried a rifle or labored on public works or managed a business or worked on a railway, would have a clearer conception of his obligations to the State. It would moreover be a potent method of Americanizing the immigrant. The events of the last eighteen months have shown us the gravity of the danger to American life of the existence of foreign communities within our borders, where men are taught to preserve their former national identity instead of entering unreservedly into our own national life. The hyphenated American of any type is a bad American and an enemy to this country. The best possible antiscorbutic for this danger is universal service.

Such a service would be essentially democratic. A man has no more right to escape military service in time of need than he has to escape paying his taxes. We do not beseech a man to "volunteer" to pay his taxes, or scream that it would be "an infringement of his liberty" and "contrary to our traditions" to make him pay them. We simply notify him how much he is to pay, and when, and where. We ought to deal just as summarily with him as regards the even more important matter of personal service to the commonwealth in time of war. He is not fit to live in a state unless when the state's life is at stake he is willing and able to serve it in any way that it can best use his abilities, and, as an incident, to fight for it if the state believes it can best use him in such fashion. Unless he takes this position he is not fit to be a citizen and should be deprived of the vote. Universal service is the practical, democratic method of dealing with this problem. Rich boy and poor boy would sleep under the same dog tent and march shoulder to shoulder in the hikes. Such service would have an immense democratizing effect. It would improve the health of the community, physically and morally. It would increase our national power of discipline and self-control. It would produce a national state of mind which would

enable us all more clearly to realize the necessity of social legislation in dealing with industrial conditions of every kind, from unemployment among men and the labor of women and children to the encouragement of business activities.

What I thus advocate is nothing new. I am merely applying to present day conditions the advice given by President George Washington when he submitted a plan for universal military training in his special message to Congress of January 21st, 1790. This plan advocated military training for all the young men of the country, stating that "every man of proper age and ability of body is firmly bound by the social compact to perform personally his proportion of military duty for the defence of the state," and that "all men of the legal military age should be held responsible for different degrees of military service," and that "the United States are to provide for arming, organizing and disciplining these men." This is merely another name for compulsory universal service, and the plan actually provided that no man of military age should vote unless he possessed a certificate showing that he had performed such service. Washington did not regard professional pacifists as entitled to the suffrage.

The larger Americanism demands that we insist that every immigrant who comes here shall become an American citizen and nothing else; if he shows that he still remains at heart more loyal to another land, let him be promptly returned to that land; and if, on the other hand, he shows that he is in good faith and whole-heartedly an American, let him be treated as on a full equality with the native born. This means that foreign born and native born alike should be trained to absolute loyalty to the flag, and trained so as to be able effectively to defend the flag. The larger Americanism demands that we refuse to be sundered from one another along lines of class or creed or section or national origin; that we judge each American on his merits as a man; that we work for the well-being of our bodily selves, but also for the well-being of our spiritual selves; that we consider safety, but that we put honor and duty ahead of safety. Only thus shall we stand erect before the world, high of heart, the masters of our own souls, fit to be the fathers of a race of freemen who shall make and shall keep this land all that it seemed to the prophetic vision of the mighty men who founded it and the mighty men who saved it.

AMERICANISM

I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of Church and State; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be nonsectarian and no public moneys appropriated for sectarian schools. As a necessary corollary to this, not only the pupils but the members of the teaching force and the school officials of all kinds must be treated exactly on a par, no matter what their creed; and there must be no more discrimination against Jew or Catholic or Protestant than discrimination in favor of Jew, Catholic or Protestant. Whoever makes such discrimination is an enemy of the public schools.

What is true of creed is no less true of nationality. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who puts "native" before the hyphen as of the man who puts German or Irish or English or French before the hyphen. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as any one else.

The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans; and there ought to be no room for them in this country. The man who calls himself an American citizen and who yet shows by his actions that he is primarily the citizen of a foreign land, plays a thoroughly mischievous part in the life of our body politic. He has no place

here; and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the better it will be for every good American. There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.

I appeal to history. Among the generals of Washington in the Revolutionary War were Greene, Putnam and Lee, who were of English descent; Wayne and Sullivan, who were of Irish descent; Marion, who was of French descent; Schuyler, who was of Dutch descent, and Muhlenberg and Herkimer, who were of German descent. But they were all of them Americans and nothing else, just as much as Washington. Carroll of Carrollton was a Catholic; Hancock a Protestant; Jefferson was heterodox from the standpoint of any orthodox creed; but these and all other signers of the Declaration of Independence stood on an equality of duty and right and liberty, as Americans and nothing else.

So it was in the Civil War. Farragut's father was born in Spain and Sheridan's father in Ireland; Sherman and Thomas were of English and Custer of German descent; and Grant came of a long line of American ancestors whose original home had been Scotland. But the Admiral was not a Spanish-American; and the Generals were not Scotch-Americans or Irish-Americans or English-Americans or German-Americans. They were all Americans and nothing else.

Fear God and take your own part. pp. 55-7; 104-09; 361-3. New York. George H. Doran Company. 1916.

THE DEMOCRACY OF TO-MORROW

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STUDENT OF HUMAN NEEDS

We are beginning to see that democracy is something more than the freedom to speak, to write, to worship as one wills to be faced with one's accusers, and to be tried by one's peers; it involves far more than the absence of absolute government or

the tyranny of an hereditary caste. The right of participation in the government, irrespective of birth, race, and creed, and the substitution of manhood suffrage and democratic forms for monarchical institutions, do not of themselves constitute democracy, immeasurably valuable as these achievements are.

Democracy, too, involves far more than a system of taxation that is ethically just; it involves far more than the right to trade where one wills, unrestrained by tariff laws; it involves far more than the taking by the community of the wealth that the community creates, or the ownership by the people of the highways, so essential to the common life. These fundamental changes in the relation of mankind to its environment do not constitute an end in themselves, any more than does the right of the ballot or of participation in the government. All these things are but means to an end, and that end is industrial freedom, a freedom as full and as free to the poor as to the rich, to the next generation and the generations which follow as it was to the generations which spread themselves out upon an unappropriated continent. Freedom is an industrial far more than a political condition.

Unfortunately the idea of freedom suggests license when demanded for all, just as it involves license when enjoyed by the few. Privilege invokes the beneficence of freedom when it would stay the hand of the state in any attempt to control its excesses, just as it invokes the perils of freedom when it would be protected from its consequences. Privilege protests in the name of freedom against regulation of the railways or the franchise corporations, or the protection by law of children, women workers, and those engaged in hazardous pursuits. It attacks the labor union, the closed shop, and the eight-hour day as subversive of personal liberty, but invokes another argument for protection from foreign competition or the right to monopoly combinations.

The political economist as well as the socialist has confounded the evils of the present industrial system with freedom. *Laissez faire* is credited with the tenement, the sweat-shop, and the excesses of capitalism. But freedom, even the *laissez faire* of Quesnay, Turgot, Dupont de Nemours, and the brilliant school of thinkers who laid the foundation for the abolition of the feudal system and the oppressive restraints of mercantilism, is a far different thing from the travesty of industrial liberty which

has masqueraded for nearly a century under that name. For nowhere has there been freedom, the freedom of access by humanity to the source of all life. The land and the resources of nature have been locked up with title-deeds of private ownership, and mankind has been forced to content itself with such opportunities as privilege offered.

It was economic freedom that made America what she is. It was this that lies at the foundation of our democracy. It was not the Declaration of Independence, it was not the Federal Constitution, it was not the freedom from an established church or hereditary privilege, it was not even the ballot; it was freedom of access to the earth and all its fulness, it was the free land that explained our institutions, it was this that gave us industrial eminence. The things we hold most dear are but the reflections of the relations of the American people to the land. And it is the passing of this freedom, it is the enclosure of the land and the coming of the tenant, it is the monopoly of that which is the source of all life, that has brought down the curse of poverty upon us, just as it did in Rome, just as it did in France, just as it did in Ireland, and just as it did in England at a later day.

The remedy herein proposed will restore the foundations upon which democracy is laid. It will insure liberty for all time. It will insure equality of opportunity in every walk of life and will guarantee to the worker all that his genius, his talent, or his labor produces. The open door, the open highway, and the socialization of the land will destroy the tribute now exacted by monopoly. It will usher in a social order in which men will be as free from the fear of want as they are from want itself. Then men will look forward not to diminishing, but to the increasing opportunities, for freedom will not only continuously augment the wealth of the world, it will insure its just distribution to those who produce it.

"Privilege and Democracy in America," 294-302. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

OPPORTUNITY AND OBLIGATION IN
AMERICA (1916)

CHARLES SEYMOUR WHITMAN

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, 1914-

You who are before me to-day, recently made citizens of the Republic, are or may be Americans in a very true sense of the word. No mere accident of birth is responsible for your presence in the United States. You are here of your own free choice. You left the land of your fathers not because that land had become less than dear to you, but because of the passion for freedom that was in your hearts and in your souls. America drew you because you were instinct with the spirit of America; because you had that in you which made you eager to test the bright promise of a country wherein no artificial barriers stand between the humblest citizen and the heights of his ambition. Just living in America does not make one an American. I know very many good and worthy people who were born in the United States and whose fathers before them were born in the United States, and yet who have never really come to America in the deep sense of the word.

It is equally true that no man is a democrat by reason of the fact that he happens to live in a democracy. Democracy and Americanism, after all, have very little to do with things physical. They are more concerned with the spirit than with the body. They are things that a man has got to feel, to think, to struggle for, and to live for.

America is more than a mere body of land with certain fixed boundaries and a certain form of government. It is an idea, the most tremendous idea ever conceived by the human mind. It is not so much a place in which to live as a place in which to hope. And because you had this idea, and because you had the hope, you were Americans from the first. Naturalization was not necessary to make you part of us. All that naturalization has done is to give you the ballot, that is, the tool that will enable you to bear your proper share in the work of making the dreams of democracy come true.

In no sense is citizenship a reward that has been given to you

because you have lived in the United States a certain number of years. It is a job that has been given to you. Keep this truth in mind. Never lose sight of the fact that you have been admitted to full partnership in the greatest enterprise that the world has ever seen, and that the success or failure of this enterprise is as much dependent upon you as though your forefathers had been among those who first set foot upon Plymouth Rock.

Many of you, perhaps, are come from countries where kings sit upon thrones by virtue of the theory of divine right. To-day you yourselves sit upon a throne; you yourselves are kings by virtue of unalienable human rights first set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

It is no empty word I say to you. Your sovereignty is absolute. With the ballot your authority is unquestioned. No hereditary caste has power to frown you down or to dispute your commands. Those in office, high office as well as low, cannot reach to their positions without your consent. It will be according to your desires that laws are made and that policies of government are adopted and given effect.

What I urge upon you is the proper pride of kings. Let no habit of thought or life blind you to the greatness of the power that a democracy has conferred upon you. Do not cheapen it by indifference; do not surrender it through neglect. Hold the right to vote as an opportunity for the display of a royal prerogative that contains within itself not only your own happiness, but the happiness of countless thousands who are groping in the shadows.

This will be no easy task. It is a tragedy of great blessings that they lose their importance as they lose their novelty. As you enter into the civic life of the community and the nation, it may well be that you will find many citizens who do not possess any proper appreciation of the ballot. You will see men, many of them native born, who do not even take the trouble to go to the polls on election day. You will see others who have no larger use for the vote than to use it as an expression of their inherited prejudices, casting ballots as boys throw stones. And it may even be that you will be saddened by the sight of citizens so lost to the meaning of democracy that they even sell their votes to men who have selfish interests to serve.

It is your privilege to aid in the great task of bringing this indifference and this evil to an end. Let no election day pass

without the casting of your ballot, and take pains to see that every vote is the vote of honesty, intelligence, and true Americanism. By so doing you will not only be true to yourselves, but true to the country of your love and your adoption.

It is at once the weakness and the strength of a democracy that it is what the people make it. It can be lifted toward heaven or it can sink to the depths. It can give liberty, justice, and equality the fullest, finest expression or it can imprison opportunity and put greed in power. It is for you, and for every other citizen, to choose.

The doors of America have ever been opened to the world. Many attempts have been made to close them, but the voice of the people has never failed to be lifted against these attempts.

Do not, however, be so blind as to get the idea that America is not interested in education, or that America does not demand education of its citizens. The very fate of democracy hangs on the intelligence or ignorance of those who govern the United States by their votes. No country in the world spends so much money on its schools. In the deserts and mountains, even as in the great cities, every provision is made for the education of our growing youth, and even for the education of those of older years who were without such advantages when young.

The Church and the Schoolhouse, testifying alike to a people's devotion to God and progress, have been builded even before homes. Even the needs of the body have not been allowed to stand before the needs of the spirit. America, by its very existence, promises freedom to the world, but the measure of that freedom, the splendor of that liberty, is found in the development of mass intelligence, mass education.

It is not a crime to have come to this country unlettered and unlearned. It is a crime, however, if illiteracy is preferred to the open doors of knowledge.

In the schoolhouses of America one may find democracy's confession as well as democracy's declaration. We do not spend millions on education out of no larger hope than that our children may reach the same level on which we stand. We maintain our thousands of schoolhouses out of our passionate desire to give our children a better, finer chance than their fathers had, to enable them to reach the heights of which we only dream.

There is no doubt that many hopeful thousands come to

America in the idea that the battles of democracy have all been fought, that every possible victory has been won. Many, coming into sight of the Statue of Liberty for the first time, are firmly of the opinion that America stands upon the ultimate heights. This is not true, nor will it ever be quite true, for the struggle for liberty, justice, and equality is the struggle everlasting.

We have done much, but there is still much to do. Out of the wonders wrought by democracy we are all too prone to forget that democracy is still in its swaddling clothes. Only one hundred and thirty-eight years ago did the Declaration of Independence hearten the world with the splendor of its promise. There were forests and deserts and mountains to conquer, a daily struggle against wild beasts and wilder men, a terrible war to establish the principle that freedom did not take account of color, and then, even as a people who have not paused to take breath, our whole civilization changed from agricultural to industrial.

Only yesterday the United States was a vast farm. To-day it is a factory. Old laws have had to be changed, new laws have had to be made. What older nations required centuries to do, the United States has had to do in years.

It is possible that you, and thousands of others like you, will find evils and injustices such as you had hoped to escape when you went down to the sea and took ships for this land of freedom. There is this difference, however, between those evils and injustices from which you have fled and those which you may find. It will be in your power to fight them—in your power to correct them. If they persist it is because you choose to let them persist.

It is for this kind of fighting that America calls upon her citizens—it is this sort of militarism that America needs and demands. The United States has a dream of conquest just as much as any empire has had a dream of conquest but it is not with the territory of other countries that this dream is concerned. What we are pledged to do is to conquer ourselves—to wage war against our own mean desires, our own selfishness, and to win the great victory that will put the common good above the personal good, the common welfare above the individual welfare.

America can be shamed, but only by herself. It is not in the power of any other nation to shame us. If we fail to give fullest meaning to liberty, justice and equality; if we fail to put founda-

tions under the air-castles of democracy; if we yield to the savage ambitions that urge strength to take advantage of weakness, then we shall have deserved not only our own contempt but the contempt of all those nations who have sneered at our experiment in democracy as fantastic and futile.

As never before in our history, the world is making call upon the strength of democracy. The shock of war is shaking Europe to its very foundations, and the established standards that have governed human relations are menaced by the passions of conflict.

America only remains on guard; America alone is possessed of the peace and power to keep inviolate the principles of justice and fraternity. If we are false to ourselves we shall be false to civilization, for we shall doom the future to confusion and hopelessness.

It is no easy task to which the United States has addressed itself. When all the world is at war, peace has many irritations. Made up, as we are, of every nationality, every color and every creed, it is inevitable that the prejudices of partisanship should be felt; that ties of blood should make appeal to sympathies.

It is the solemn obligation of every citizen to see that such prejudices and such sympathies work no forgetfulness of the duties that are owed to America and that America demands. Not even in the days when the thirteen colonies resolved upon independence and democracy has there been such a need for unity in thought, unity in purpose, unity in devotion and unity in service.

You have come into the drama of American life at a great moment. The opportunity to play a very real part in that drama is yours. The possibilities of American citizenship are unlimited. You may not realize in the land of your adoption all that you have fondly hoped and dreamed in your homes across the sea. The struggles for truth, for justice and for human progress are not all over, there are contests yet to win, and the great people, who have welcomed you to share in the blessings of American civilization have a right to call upon you to assist in carrying that civilization to a level of human attainment, the highest that the world has ever known.

TRANS-NATIONAL AMERICA

RANDOLPH S. BOURNE

STUDENT, WRITER, EDITOR

No reverberatory effect of the great war has caused American public opinion more solicitude than the failure of the "melting-pot." The discovery of diverse nationalistic feelings among our great alien population has come to most people as an intense shock. It has brought out the unpleasant inconsistencies of our traditional beliefs. We have had to watch hard-hearted old Brahmins virtuously indignant at the spectacle of the immigrant refusing to be melted, while they jeer at patriots like Mary Antin who write about "our forefathers." We have had to listen to publicists who express themselves as stunned by the evidence of vigorous nationalistic and cultural movements in this country among Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, and Poles, while in the same breath they insist that the alien shall be forcibly assimilated to that Anglo-Saxon tradition which they unquestioningly label "American."

As the unpleasant truth has come upon us that assimilation in this country was proceeding on lines very different from those we had marked out for it, we found ourselves inclined to blame those who were thwarting our prophecies. The truth became culpable. We blamed the war, we blamed the Germans. And then we discovered with a moral shock that these movements had been making great headway before the war even began. We found that the tendency, reprehensible and paradoxical as it might be, has been for the national clusters of immigrants, as they became more and more firmly established and more and more prosperous, to cultivate more and more assiduously the literatures and cultural traditions of their homelands. Assimilation, in other words, instead of washing out the memories of Europe, made them more and more intensely real. Just as these clusters became more and more objectively American, did they become more and more German or Scandinavian or Bohemian or Polish.

To face the fact that our aliens are already strong enough to take a share in the direction of their own destiny, and that the strong cultural movements represented by the foreign press, schools, and colonies are a challenge to our facile attempts, is not, however, to admit the failure of Americanization. It is

not to fear the failure of democracy. It is rather to urge us to an investigation of what Americanism may rightly mean. It is to ask ourselves whether our ideal has been broad or narrow—whether perhaps the time has not come to assert a higher ideal than the “melting-pot.” Surely we cannot be certain of our spiritual democracy when, claiming to melt the nations within us to a comprehension of our free and democratic institutions, we fly into panic at the first sign of their own will and tendency. We act as if we wanted Americanization to take place only on our own terms, and not by the consent of the governed. All our elaborate machinery of settlement and school and union, of social and political naturalization, however, will move with friction just in so far as it neglects to take into account this strong and virile insistence that America shall be what the immigrant will have a hand in making it, and not what a ruling class, descendant of those British stocks which were the first permanent immigrants, decide that America shall be made. This is the condition which confronts us, and which demands a clear and general readjustment of our attitude and our ideal.

Atlantic Monthly 118:86-97. July, 1916.

DEMOCRACY OF INTERNATIONALISM

GRACE ABBOT

DIRECTOR IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, CHICAGO

The demand for “nationalism” in Europe is the democratic demand that a people shall be free to speak the language which they prefer and develop their own national culture and character. Here in the United States, we are working out, blunderingly, and with the injustice which comes from inherited prejudices, the democracy not of nationalism but of internationalism. If English, Irish, Polish, German, Scandinavian, Russian, Lithuanian and all the other races of the earth can live together—each making his own distinctive contribution to our common life; if we can respect those differences which result from a different social and political environment and see the common interests that unite all people, we will meet the American opportunity. If, instead we blindly follow Europe and cultivate a national egotism, we shall need to develop a contempt for others and to foster

those national hatreds and jealousies which are necessary for aggressive nationalism.

Is it too much for us to hope that the United States may develop a foreign policy which will grow out of the understanding which comes from the fact that those who have come to us, with all the racial and religious hatreds which have been carefully nurtured in support of a selfish nationalism at home, have lived together in the United States on the same street, in the same tenement, finding the appeal of a common interest greater than the appeal of centuries of bitterness?

Americanism of the Future

Here are all shades of opinion—the reactionary Russian who finds himself in agreement with the reactionary American who fears the development of democracy; here is, too, the Russian who is ready to suffer again Siberian imprisonment if it would promote the cause of liberalism in Russia. This is the Russian who realizes that recognition of the rights of the Pole, the Jew, the Finn, the Lithuanian, and the Ruthenian is necessary if the Russian himself is to be really free. Here are Bohemians liberal and reactionary, Catholic and Freethinker, agreeing in their desire for an autonomous Bohemia; here are Poles of all parties united in support of “free Poland.”

And finally, here, too, are the Americans of many generations whose neighbors, friends, and business associates come from all these groups and who have also been a part of that American internationalism which is founded not on diplomacy or force but is the result of the understanding which has come with the necessity of living and working together.

“Americanism” is much more a matter of the future than of the past. It is to be hoped that we can have the courage to be unlike Europe in both our nationalism and our internationalism and the imagination to use the possibilities which are ours because we are of many races and, by the closest of human ties, are related to all the world.

THE OLD STOCK AND THE NEW

A good deal is being said about the loss of influence in politics, morals, and manners of Americans of the "old stock"—the men and women who have been long acclimated, so to speak, in the air of the New World and who have had the largest opportunities of education under popular institutions. Richard Grant White defined an American as one whose ancestors had come to this country before the Revolution. The men and women who lived together through the vicissitudes and anxieties, and bore the sacrifices, of that long and exhausting struggle shared a unifying experience and became an independent people; but they did not become a nation.

They had many fine traits of personal and political character; they honored religion, supported education, and developed a spirit of sturdy self-reliance. The more fortunate among them in point of ease of condition and cultivation were men and women of dignity and refinement of taste. They had a sound sense of form in architecture, as many old Colonial houses and churches show. Their colleges were schools of culture rather than of vocational efficiency, and their libraries were full of standard books. Their music was narrow in range, but it was free from vulgarity.

The "old stock" was largely descendent of the English, French, and Dutch—races of active intelligence and energy of will. The early immigrants to the New World were largely, though by no means entirely, of the various Protestant faiths. Love of liberty was in their blood, and, as time went on and the habit of free action became fixed, they defined, first in idea and later in action, an ideal of freedom which has become the fundamental faith of the American people. They gave the Colonies leaders in the great debate which preceded the Revolution; they developed generals of high ability, who were also men of noble disinterestedness of nature and successfully led the amateur Colonial fighters against professional soldiers trained in Europe.

In the critical years that followed the war they held the country back from anarchy, and to the difficult task of framing a Constitution for the new and inexperienced Nation they sent a large group of highly educated and able men. For many years public affairs were largely in their hands, and they developed political leaders of a high order of sagacity.

The "old stock" gave the Nation its moral and political ideals and met the crisis of the Civil War with a courage and patriotism which showed that it was not only sound at heart, but had not lost the inspiration of faith nor the ability to deal strongly with difficult and perilous conditions.

That war created a nation, and the war which liberated Cuba made Americans conscious that they had become a nation with the responsibilities of a nation in the world. It is as idle to talk of maintaining the old policy of seclusion as to talk of bringing back the old practice of cutthroat competition; both are outgrown. The National life has broadened and deepened, and a nobler idea of the place and function of a nation in the modern world is defining itself.

With this widening of ideas and interests there has come another group of men and women from the Old World who are rapidly creating a "new stock," and many thoughtful Americans are asking whether in making the house so free to all who want to share its protection we are not endangering the ideals of the family and jeopardizing the spirit and faith which are the most precious possessions bequeathed by the men and women of the "old stock." It is certainly true that the gates have not been properly guarded against crime and disease; though, The Outlook holds, the selective process ought to be made in Europe rather than in New York. It is also true that the absence of intelligent methods of distribution has led to the practical segregation of great numbers of new comers into localities which are almost as definite in boundary as the old pales in mediæval cities. With a lack of foresight which has been criminal in its stupidity we have brought in small armies of men and women ignorant of our language, laws, and habits, planted them in isolated colonies, done little or nothing to show them how to be Americans, left them to the leadership of agitators, and then, when they have become turbulent and lawless, have accused them of violating the hospitality of the Nation. As a matter of fact, hospitality has never been offered them. They have been brought over in ship loads, carted like freight to distant points, and dumped in a mass like usable human refuse. They have been worked; they have not been Americanized.

THE FAITH THAT IS IN US

WINTHROP TALBOT

Americanism is the voluntary choosing of American ideals, the adoption of principles for which America stands. And what are they? Freedom to worship God? Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Government through representation of the people, by the people, and for the people? Equal suffrage and universal obligation to public service?

These, but also something still more basic to our obligations and privileges as American citizens. Namely, the right of the individual to know. America stands for universal untrammelled right and opportunity to share in thought. Moreover American democracy possesses a unique mechanism for thought sharing.

Let us hark back to the settling time of this country. The Pilgrims landed on a rockbound coast in search of opportunity to worship God in their own sectarian fashion, yet banished from their midst those who presumed to differ in religious tenets.

In 1620 Americanism was liberty to specialize in intolerance. There was little thought of toleration, freedom, union, democracy, in the Americanism of the Pilgrim Fathers. Nor were the Puritans dissimilar. But stern and unbending sectaries, as they were, they builded better than they knew when they established in Boston in 1635 the first free public Latin school, the beginning of the American public school system. Intended to train youth for the ministry, this school steadily expanded to larger public service and became the exemplar, as it was the prototype, of our free public schools of today. The bigoted, intolerant, greatminded, bravehearted hierocratic colonists devised and set into operation an effective mechanism by which alone democracy could be evolved. The mechanism of the free public grammar school was their contribution to thought extension. Its establishment led directly to the next step in Americanization, *obligatory* free public schooling, which in turn made thought sharing general and inevitable.

Out from the search for liberty to worship God in one narrow fashion there evolved thru wider schooling increasing religious toleration. From greater toleration in religious belief came the demand for political liberty, and especially for representation of the individual in government. The rebellious cry of the Amer-

ican people was voiced by Patrick Henry in his demand "Give me Liberty or give me Death."

American in 1776 meant government by representation of all who possessed the suffrage, but the bond-servant, the slave, and women had no vote and two thirds of all the people were unable to read and write. It was in fact an oligarchy or government of the many by the few.

As the country grew, desire for schooling grew, academies were planted everywhere, colleges were founded, interest in books increased, and there arose the conception of the free public library—a direct result of needs created by the demands of free public schooling.

The free public school, reinforced by the free public library, became a united mechanism for universal extension and sharing of thought. Freedom of thought thus shared and opportunity thus opened to all to share thought implanted a fixed determination to cut out of the body politic institutions like slavery, which stifled freedom of thought and fostered classes in society such as never could become sharers in thought or partakers in government.

In 1861 Americanism became a belief, an intense desire, not only for liberty and freedom, but for union and a more liberal franchise. It was seen that opportunity for individual freedom demanded organization and political union. As a means for providing this organization, the daily press in the hands of Horace Greeley and the hero journalists of his time became a living entity, a strong ally of the public school and the public library in promoting democracy. Without this triad mechanism of the school, the library, and the press, opportunity for individual development, social, industrial, and political, could not have become general.

We are apt to think of the democracy of Jefferson's time as being representative of that of our time also, but we do not realize that in his day all the slave population and nearly one-half of the white population of America were unable to read and write. Such men as the father of Lincoln were cut off by illiteracy from participation in general thought of their time. Jefferson's democracy was the democracy of the Aristotelian philosophy and the slave-holding democracies of Greece and Rome, democracy restricted by wide-spread illiteracy, and consequently democracy only of the few who were able to share thought.

The Americanism of Tom Paine was opportunity to think and

act. The Americanism of Hamilton was opportunity for personal privilege. The Americanism of Jefferson was opportunity for party action. The Americanism of Lincoln was opportunity of the people, by the people, and for the people. Today through international extension of the idea of the free public school, the free public library, and the free press, the Americanism of Wilson and the American people comes to mean OPPORTUNITY FOR HUMANITY TO THINK AND GROW TOGETHER IN COMMUNISM OF EFFORT BY EACH IN THE SERVICE OF ALL.

But Americans are not all humanists. We still retain among us the sectarian, the libertarian, the party worshipper, the nationalist, all of whom represent distinct stages in the growth of Americanism. Each defines Americanism to himself in terms peculiar to the stage which he historically represents. It is essential for us in this war against autocracy to picture clearly these many sided aspects of Americanism, these varied stages in growth of social, political, industrial, religious, and scientific freedom in thought sharing.

We may affirm truly that freedom of opportunity in the sharing of thought is the chief characteristic of Americanism, but we must face the wide diversity in Americanism occasioned not only by historic growth, but through geographic and climatic environment. The Bostonian has one conception of Americanism, the New Yorker another, the Washingtonian and the Chicagoan something quite different, and the Texan conception again is not that of the Californian.

Becoming Americanized means getting to be like Americans, and thus we gain infinite variety of meaning to the word, as well as an infinitude of charm, and naturally a fine chance for dogmatism and debate. If all this is true, however, we may regard as pseudo-Americanization the illjudged attempts of some well-meaning American-born enthusiasts to fit the alien to a Procrustean bed of his own stage of Americanism. Are there not many of us who talk much of Americanization, who although of American birth and ancestry permit ourselves to be egoistic, intolerant, domineering, and autocratic in our conception of Americanism, disdainful of those treasures of heritage which the foreign born continually bring to our shores in rich abundance, and ready to deride these new gifts as "not American" because they happen to be new to us?

It has been said that America is a melting pot. How crude

the simile, although dramatic, and how untrue, moreover how opposed to biologic fact. Rather is America a glorious garden where racial stocks of hardy type take root, and in richer soil by cross fertilization and intensive cultivation develop large variety and wonderful fruitage. Does it not prophesy well for the future too, that foreign human plants and seeds brought to this great Garden of the West generally do take root here, to bloom continually and so to add their mite and might to the common weal? Somehow or other, by the process of Americanization, by successful modification and by adaptation to new conditions, even human prickly pears seem to lose their thorns, and poisonous human varieties generally become harmless.

What is the magic wand that effects this transmutation? Some deem it to be the political Constitution of our country, but England's constitution is as liberal as ours. Some would say, religious toleration, but China is religiously tolerant. Some might think it the great natural resources of a new country, but Russian Siberia offers more than America. Perhaps the suffragist believes it is because American women have here a greater chance and greater rights, but little Finland is our superior in this regard.

No, we may guess, and guess again, but all our guesses will be in vain until we realize that America is truly the land of the free for the reason that in America, and in America alone, is established a general mechanism and system whereby everyone is proffered widest opportunity to share the thought of all.

It was in America where the free public school originated for the common benefit, where the free public library had its birth, where the linotype and rotary press were invented to make low cost printing possible, and so to render the news print page a popular necessity.

America is the only land where free obligatory public schooling affords equal opportunity to all to progress in uninterrupted mental expansion from kindergarten, through gradeschool, high school, and college to the technical and professional school at public expense. In other lands this opportunity is afforded to some, but in no other land is it given so generally as a birthright to every child.

America is the only land where the free public library, that greatest university of all the people, no longer remains a mere store-house of knowledge or reservoir of learning, but rather is a powerful dynamo equipped to supply mental power in small or

large quantities as desired. Its trunk wires are rapidly being extended to energize every occupation and interest of the community. Most of us are unaware of or indifferent to this extension of the free public library for like other natural growth processes it is a quiet growth, so that unless we have lived in foreign lands, we cannot realize that the possession of the public library in its present form is the privilege of America alone among all the nations of the world.

It is because the free public school, the free public library, and the free press are American dynamos, that we gain power more and more to share thought, and by so doing give promise of true democracy. For is not democracy based upon ability and opportunity to understand one another and so to grip each others aims, purposes and meanings? As power of mutual comprehension is based upon the printed word, does not ability of all to read provide the basis of democracy? In Russia, for instance, in Mexico, and in other lands where the literate form the small minority of the population, democracy is a plant of tender growth, the vitality of which must depend mainly upon extension of schooling. Schooling is the mechanism of thought sharing. Democracy must possess such mechanism for sharing thought, for democracy must be able to think in common terms.

The spoken word of course is another potent means of sharing thought and one reason why Americanism is fraught with power is because no country has so many millions who speak the same language. We rightly lay stress on teaching English to foreigners in order that diversity of tongues may not shatter our Babel tower, but since the printed word is more potent than the spoken word because it reaches further and conveys richer meanings, so our Americanization depends for its full worth upon wholly removing the hindrance and stigma of foreign illiteracy as well as that of the native born. When each person in the United States, barring only the mentally defective, is enabled through the force of an aroused public opinion and higher standards of industrial management to be enabled to read and write, then for the first time may we talk rightfully and purposefully of complete Americanization. In the Empire State alone there are today a half million illiterate whites, in Pennsylvania, three hundred thousand. The manufacturing States of the North may be termed the Black Belt of the North for in their population are two million adults who cannot read or write.

Among a people who steadily extend their general mechanism for sharing thought, nothing can impede thought sharing. Clear thinking on this matter is essential to right planning, if ever there is to be a just and lasting peace. For instance, it has been said and properly that a nation's force depends upon its health and freedom from disease, but what advocate of public health education has not found his best efforts balked through mere inability to read simple health notices and sanitary instructions? In industry what manager has not failed in attaining his largest aims because of friction, misunderstanding, or strife engendered through inability of illiterate workers to comprehend a simple work direction or even a danger signal. What political boss has failed to find advantage for himself at public cost by exploiting the votes of an illiterate electorate? Is it not among the densely unschooled that exploitation of every sort exists? Is it not these who suffer chiefly the evils resulting from poverty, bad housing, contaminated food, congestion, infant mortality, child labor, alcoholism, and crime, and who will say that any of these evils we are glad to term American? We would not indeed think of the crowded slums and their attendant evils as typically American but rather of the decent individual home? This suffering is not confined to the illiterate but extends reflexly to the literate themselves. It is not then possible for all Americans to strengthen the three basic forces of true Americanism, the free obligatory public school, the free public library, and the free press, in giving ability and opportunity to read, write and speak a common language, and thus to enable thought to be shared in common?

The deepening current of American life bids fair to sweep as a mighty flood throughout the world. Study of our immigration to foreign countries as contrasted with immigration to this country, reveals millions of sturdy immigrants, who have returned to their homes from America. Through their industry and economies, they have been enabled to send a quickening stream of material wealth back to their home countries, but of immensely greater import to the democracy of the world has been the good news, the gospel of opportunity for all to know, which having been learned in America, they have sent or brought to their home countries. Moreover it is in America that they have discovered the potent mechanism for uprooting autocracy and thereby eliminating serfdom, and as they have gone back by hundreds of thousands to the lands of their birth in the Orient, the Occident and

the Antipodes, they have carried with them everywhere the American idea of the free public school, the free public library, and the American newspaper, and thus while they may have retained their racial traits, their racial language, and their racial customs, nevertheless, by means of this mechanism, they themselves have become Americanized, and everywhere as earnest disciples are promoting true Americanism by extending these means of sharing thought. In this sense our emigrants from America have become the revolutionists of Russia and the educators of Japan and China. They have awakened all lands to greater conceptions of liberty and wider humanism, and now are extending through the war a helping hand to the victims of autocracy and privilege.

To end Slavery of the mind, to promote mutual understanding in the service of each for all and all for each is our gospel of Americanism, the Faith that is in us.

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BROTHERHOOD IN AMERICA

STEPHEN S. WISE

IMMIGRANT LEADER, RABBI, AMERICAN

Remember that in this land of ours all the races, all the peoples, all the faiths of the world, are being brought together and are being fused into one great and indivisible whole, as if to prove that, if men will but come near enough together to know one another, whatever their nationality, their race, their religion, hatred and ill-will and prejudice and all uncharitableness are sure to pass away. Herein let America pioneer. Our country seems destined in the Providence of God to be the meeting place of all the peoples, to be the world's experimental station in brotherhood—all of us learning that other nations are not barbarians, that other races are not inferior, that other faiths are not Godless.

From Address at Young People's Meeting of National Arbitration and Peace Congress, New York, 1907.

THE MEANING OF OUR FLAG

JOHN B. TORBERT.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Expressive symbolism was the object aimed at by the early patriots in the various flags under which Americans fought, and it was not until some time after the adoption by Congress of a uniform standard for the armies and navies of the colonies that they entirely gave place to the national emblem. The Pine-tree flag, the Rattlesnake flag, the Liberty or Death flag, the Crescent flag are examples of the most prominent among the great many and diverse flags that were used.

There were thirteen separate colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, each differing materially in its laws and political organization from all the others. There never has been a time when our population has not been complex. The American people as a distinctive nationality was a composite fabric, whose warp was of English origin, but whose woof came from every European country. Only the combination of peoples, climate, productive waters, and fertile soil, found here in combination, could produce the hardy type of American genius. The virtuous Huguenot, the thrifty Swede, the frugal Scotchman, the industrious German, and the generous but turbulent Irishman, were woven into a nation by the pertinacity and dominant strength of the English character.

Using three flags to represent three stages in the development of our national emblem we will begin with the red ensign as the one universally used by the English merchant vessels of that day. It was the flag that played a most important part in the development of our National flag, forming, as it does, the basis for the Stars and Stripes.

On this hitherto red ensign were placed six stripes that are significant from a historic point of view* representing the six European countries from which America had been chiefly peopled, whose descendants were now fighting, shoulder to shoulder, as one people in recognition of the principle that "The cause of Boston is the cause of us all." It was known as "The Grand Union Flag" from the union under its folds of so many

* *History of the U. S.*, Alexander H. Stephens, 1881, p. 198; Manuscripts in Library of Congress; *History of the Great Seal of U. S.*

different stocks of people in a common cause against injustice and oppression.

In placing these six white stripes on the flag seven spaces of the original red were of course left which gave the whole number of bars or stripes as representing also the thirteen colonies in armed resistance to the tyranny and oppression of Great Britain. The Union Jack, the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were retained in the upper corner to signify the yet recognized sovereignty of England. This flag was raised for the first time over the camp at Cambridge on January 1 or 2, 1776, when Washington first took command of our combined armies.

Thus a change was made on the British commercial red ensign as a base and the first step was taken towards that distinctive American flag as we know it to-day, the most beautiful standard that was ever thrown to the breeze.

In stating the causes for which they took up arms* Congress declared that they had "no wish to separate from the mother country, but only to maintain their charter rights," and "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory nor for conquest. . . . Honor, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender the freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. In our native land, and in defense of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we have ever enjoyed till the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressor, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

In thus stating the grievances that had forced them to take up arms, the sovereignty of Great Britain was still recognized. This together with the great forbearance on the part of our forefathers is one of the great lessons that is graphically illustrated in coming to a complete understanding of our flag.

The arbitrary disposition of Great Britain in refusing to yield to the just claims of the colonies, together with the manner in which the remonstrances of the colonies were received and treated by the King and Parliament, extinguished all hopes that

* *Journal of Continental Congress*, Ford, Vol. 2, p. 155.

had been previously entertained in America of an ultimate reconciliation with the mother country. The feeling had now become general for independence, as shown in General Washington's letter of May, 1776. He wrote from the headquarters of the army then at New York.

"A reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible. . . . When I took command of the army I abhorred the idea of independence; but I am now fully satisfied that nothing else will save us."

In recognition of this now almost universal feeling the elimination of the Union Jack from the flag became necessary and was happily solved by the substitution of thirteen five-pointed stars in a blue field. This substitution also is full of meaning in that each star is equal in magnitude with every other star and represented each State on a parity with every other State. The number of points to the stars is also significant and the selection of the five-pointed star was not due to any haphazard or snap judgment but was the result of careful thought wisely concluded.

As time passed the flag was changed in a mistaken attempt to have it represent not the origin but the development of the country from time to time. In the changes it underwent it not only lost its beauty as an emblem but also its historic symbolism. Fortunately however, through the patriotic devotion and zeal of a gallant naval hero, Captain Samuel Chester Reed, who loved his country and his flag, Congress was apprized of its error and the mistakes were corrected. In the corrective legislation on the subject the historic symbolism was preserved while at the same time provision was made for the representation of future growth without in any way disfiguring or distorting what it had always stood for.

Through a mere coincidence the stripes took on a double significance. The six white stripes on the red field gave a total number of thirteen red and white which now represent not only the European origin of the colonies but the number of colonies that rebelled under oppression and achieved their independence from Great Britain after a long and bloody struggle.

The colors are in themselves significant coming in their definition to us from very ancient times when red was used to distinguish hardiness and valor; white stood for purity and innocence; and blue signified vigilance, perseverance and justice.

A correct knowledge of "The Meaning of Our Flag" will reveal why we are a Nation of patriots of one country and one flag indivisible; it absolutely precludes any hyphenated Americanism. Any division of allegiance is impossible and every American is an American from the ground up.

The Flag is wonderful in origin, interesting in meaning and equally beautiful in design, in symmetry, and in sentiment.

The War of the American Revolution established our flag. The War of 1812 maintained and strengthened its prestige among the nations of the earth. The War between the States preserved it in its integrity and the War with Spain planted it in a remote portion of the earth as a beacon light of liberty and enlightenment to all the peoples of the earth.

It is an emblem of living acts and constant aspirations, in unison with whose waving beauty the national heart throbs and pulsates in defense of its honor and in the spread of its protecting influence throughout the world.

To relate the story of the origin of our flag, its development and meaning, is to unfold its exalted teachings and present the whole subject in its supreme beauty.

Its meaning necessarily has its beginning in the graphic symbolism of the early colonial flags and it is only through the study of the smallest details of the unfolding and development from stage to stage that anything like a true picture of the significance and meaning of its component parts can be arrived at.

The ideas represented in the different symbols of our flag as eventually adopted were the result of growth, development and a most judicious exercise of careful selection not only with a view to its aesthetic beauty but for the historic, geographic, and symbolic truth.

It was evolved amid the smoke and excitement of the battle field and was designed with a view of the past, the present, and the future, and in itself embodies the history and geographic origin of the new nation, so harmonized that it is only with strict attention to the little details that its true meaning can be discerned.

A knowledge of the meaning of the different symbols of the flag not only has interest but is of very great importance in teaching the dominating ability and strength derived from the cosmopolitan character of American citizenship and the consequent obligations for the protection and uplifting of all the

peoples of the earth. Nations, creeds and colors, diverse and conglomerate streams of blood have flowed steadily to our shores; they step in and are lost forever, fused into one distinguished mass called the American people.

The stars represented, at the time of the adoption of the flag, the new constellation of thirteen States along the Atlantic seaboard of North America that had united in armed resistance to injustice and oppression imposed upon them by Great Britain. As new States have been admitted into the Union a new star has taken its place in the constellation as the equal of every star other State. By concretion and subdivision of territory into sovereign States, that constellation has been increased to forty-eight stars in a blue field.

The white stripes, originally represented the six States of Europe from which the Colonies had been chiefly peopled, laid down on the commercial red ensign of Great Britain showed the welding of the conglomerate of transported European nationalities into a compact and united American republic.

It is a mistake to think that through the rupture between Great Britain and her North American colonies, which finally resulted in the independence of the latter, there was a final and complete parting from the flags of the parent country. On the contrary, the old flag was retained as a base with modifications that so enhanced its beauty and gave to it such an additional value as a symbol of liberal free government that the old basal flag is obscured and lost in the beauty of the new creation.

The geography and jurisprudence of the civilized world centers in its makeup. The ideas for which it stands, the blessings which it typifies, the great works wrought under its inspiration constitute the grandest chapter in the history of mankind and a climax in the history of the world.

Our flag was conceived in war but born of a patriotism that has since achieved its greatest victories as triumphs of peace. Honorable peace was the first and only desire of the early patriots, but when their just demands for redress, were treated with scorn by the monarch to whom they were addressed, a new constellation made its appearance among the nations of the earth, in our flag. The drum and fife, under its folds, sounded the death knell of tyranny among the nations. Since the adoption of our flag more than half of the nations of the earth have become re-

publics and every government has given increased liberty and representation to its people.

The Revolutionary War gave birth to this mighty nation and it has grown and waxed strong in the succeeding years of its development until to-day its flag floats over a vast territory of the choicest portion of the American Continent, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans and over all productive temperatures from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. It has also planted that flag in the uttermost parts of the earth as a beacon light of progress and humanity.

As honorable peace was the first consideration in the conception of our flag, so has it always been the fervent desire of our people, and it is a fact to be proud of that wherever our flag has gone as the emblem of sovereignty it has proved a benefaction to mankind.

The "Stars and Stripes" is magnificently American in its significance and meaning and as a symbolic emblem of national existence and development we could have nothing else so beautiful and inspiring and at the same time so full of meaning, to old and young alike whether native or naturalized, as our much loved American Flag.

Address to the Department of the Interior June 1915.

"THE AMERICAN FLAG" (1861)

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

PREACHER, AUTHOR, ORATOR, AMERICAN LOYALIST.

THIS nation has a banner, too; and until recently wherever it streamed abroad men saw day-break bursting on their eyes. For until lately the American flag has been a symbol of Liberty, and men rejoiced in it. Not another flag on the globe had such an errand, or went forth upon the sea carrying everywhere, the world around, such hope to the captive, and such glorious tidings. The stars upon it were to the pining nations like the bright morning stars of God, and the stripes upon it were beams of morning light. As at early dawn the stars shine forth even while it grows light, and then as the sun advances that light breaks into banks and streaming lines of color, the glowing red and intense white striving together, and ribbing the horizon with bars

effulgent, so, on the American flag, stars and beams of many-colored light shine out together. And wherever this flag comes, and men behold it, they see in its sacred emblazonry no ramping lion, and no fierce eagle; no embattled castles, or insignia of imperial authority; they see the symbols of light. It is the banner of Dawn. It means *Liberty*; and the galley slave, the poor, oppressed conscript, the trodden-down creature of foreign despotism, sees in the American flag that very promise and prediction of God—"The people which sat in darkness saw a great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up."

"Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, *that it may be displayed.*"

And displayed it shall be. Advanced full against the morning light, and borne with the growing and the glowing day, it shall take the last ruddy beams of the night, and from the Atlantic wave, clear across with eagle flight to the Pacific, that banner shall float, meaning all the liberty which it has ever meant! From the North, where snows and mountain ice stand solitary, clear to the glowing tropics and the Gulf, that banner that has hitherto waved shall wave and wave forever—every star, every band, every thread and fold significant of Liberty!

And now God speaks by the voice of his providence, saying, "Lift again that banner! Advance it full and high!" To your hand, and to yours, God and your country commit that imperishable trust. You go forth self-called, or rather called by the trust of your countrymen and by the Spirit of your God, to take that trailing banner out of the dust and out of the mire, and lift it again where God's rains can cleanse it, and where God's free air can cause it to unfold and stream as it has always floated before the wind. God bless the men that go forth to save from disgrace the American flag!

Accept it, then, in all its fulness of meaning. It is not a painted rag. It is a whole national history. It is the Constitution. It is the government. It is the free people that stand in the government on the Constitution. Forget not what it means; and for the sake of its ideas, rather than its mere emblazonry, be true to your country's flag. By your hands lift it; but let your lifting it be no holiday display. It must be advanced "*because of the truth.*"

PART II

ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION

AMERICANIZATION

WINTHROP TALBOT

In the strife of new forms of government with old, in the clash of democracy with autocracy, the great new constructive force is Americanization—extension of American ideas without racial or geographic limit—partaking with all peoples at home and abroad in essential Americanism.

Americanization is the process of sharing in and promoting the ideals, aims, activities, and practice of basic American governmental principles, American freedom of thought, American schooling and language, and the best manners, habits, and customs, of America.

Americanization advocates the rights claimed in our political constitution, free public schooling which is obligatory and universal, the free public library, and the free press. It implies a common language for Americans and a rich vocabulary of thought exchange.

Americanization is broad in scope for it includes the pleasures and relaxations of recreation and wholesome fun as much as the pains and concentrations of industry. American games and sports are as truly typical as are American modes of conducting business, manufacture, and scientific procedure. So universal is the scope of Americanization and so requisite is it becoming to civilization that our conception of its meaning should be equally broad. We should not be bound by preconceived notions derived solely from limited personal experiences and narrow individual prejudice. Americanization is based upon socialized thinking. The outgoing American spirit has already expressed itself in a freer Russia, it is evidenced by increasing representation in government among widely separated peoples, and in growing recognition of the world right to share thought, experience, and aspiration.

Most important of all, Americanization always implies obligation; free choice determines its acceptance, and its extension must come through avenues of intelligent comprehension rather than through physical or governmental domination.

Only as we broaden our own conception of Americanization may we become fully aware of its relations to world progress, and appreciate the immensity of the field open to its forces.

Problems of Americanization

The problems of Americanization usually are conceived as questions of assimilation of the European alien, and this book devotes space proportionately to the technic of Americanization in this field. But it should be borne in mind that America of to-day has taken over also the assimilation of the Negro, the Indian, the Creole, the Filipino, the Puerto Rican, the natives of Alaska, of Haiti, of San Domingo, of the Virgin Islands, and of Hawaii, as well as large numbers of Mexican peons, and a few hundred thousand Chinese, Nipponese and other Asiatic immigrants. It is well to remind ourselves that we have not yet really set ourselves to work in earnest at Americanizing some of our native-born, for example the isolated mountain whites of Kentucky and West Virginia, the dwellers in the flatlands of the Mississippi Valley, the decadents and defectives of the New England Hinterland, the absentee director in industry, and the insulated devotee to wealth and class.

These comprise some of our home problems in Americanization. Steadily year by year, and decade by decade, we find ourselves as a people becoming gradually welded into a greater unity. American ideals while varied in the extreme no longer are in open and angry conflict as in the days of the Civil War, and we are becoming likeminded in our aims and purposes as a people. The Civil War united us; the World War is unifying us.

Forces of Americanization

When we enumerate the forces of Americanization we perceive that they are varied in kind and inclusive in type. They comprise first those agencies which promote ability to share thought—namely the free public school, the free library, the free press. Of these agencies the free public school is of prime importance.

Physical environment and the presence and influence of American life itself are the next most effective agents of Americanization, because the habits of mankind are formed largely through imitation. Thus we are led to a consideration of the

detailed aspects of American life, our means of rapid, cheap, and extensive transportation through wide territories by means of railway and steamer travel, the trolley car, automobile, ferry, and despised but useful "Jitney". Every increase in mobility induces a more complete Americanism.

Americanization is fostered not only by extension of thought through travel but by general use of conveniences for communication of ideas such as the telephone, telegraph, and postal facilities in contrast with their limited availability and use in other lands.

Societies, fraternities, and orders play a large role in Americanization, for the American is primarily and preeminently a "joiner."

American games and sports, "movies," and vaudevilles should be included among the forces of Americanization.

The improved conditions which mark modern American employment and extension of labor organization do much to promote Americanization.

Churches, Sunday schools, and charitable organizations, are also important.

Finally the ballot box and all that this implies "*in posse*" if not "*in esse*" signifies more than all other agents save the public school. Manhood and womanhood suffrage form in fact the ægis of Americanism; however ineffective through complexity, shadowed by ignorance and stupidity, or bound by selfishness and cupidity, the power of the ballot becomes ever stronger as we learn to use it.

Our political constitution affords the means for ultimate freedom in the play of the forces of Americanization, for our American Constitution deliberately renounces the power to legislate concerning specified rights. No government other than that of the United States, has ever admitted that there exist human rights which are unalienable.

Thus no other form of government stands fully for the *rights* of humanity. If we suffer human rights to be invaded, it is our own fault, not the fault of our form of government, and our fault may be rectified only by cultivating a deeper intelligence among all our people. May it be said that we do stand fully for human rights when we continue to permit six million of our adults to remain unable to read and write, and so to invite that very exploitation and strife which Americanism seeks to end?

AMERICA

WILLIAM JAMES DAWSON.

CLERGYMAN, ENGLISH IMMIGRANT, LECTURER, AUTHOR, POET.

* * * * *

From the Volga and the Tiber and the Seas,
 From the lands of long misrule thy children come,
 And thou standest like a Shepherd by the fold
 And numberest thy sheep as they draw home.
 From the ways of dearth and toil,
 From the hard penurious soil,
 Like school-freed children glad they seek thy knees,
 And find wise liberty in thy decrees.
 No more disconsolate,
 They grasp a larger fate;
 Shall they falter? Shall they find thy freedom sure?
 Yea: in truth they shall endure.

From the sunset-lands they come, and from the East,
 From the Tagus, and the Danube, and the Rhine,
 From the waters ploughed by Norsemen in their pride,
 From the fiord and the factory, and the mine;
 Behold a miracle!
 Within thy crucible
 The cosmic flame that challenges the sun
 Transfuses million-varied lives to one!
 Nation born within a day,
 Shall it falter? Shall it cease? Shall it endure?
 O nation, young and gay,

Yea: it standeth very sure.
 Where the workshop flings its plumes athwart the sky,
 Where the labouring engines groan as if in pain,
 Where the low tree-cradled cottage dots the hill,
 Where the lonely ranchman rides along the plain;
 Where the Mississippi flows,
 Where the Shasta lifts her snows,
 Day by day thy far-flung children praise thy name,
 Forgetful they of days of ancient shame,
 Of Emperors and Czars,
 Beneath thy flag of stars.

Shall they falter? Shall they cease? Shall they endure?
Yea: their faith is very sure.

For a bitter night and day they shall be tried,
They shall moan within the cruel hand of greed;
But ever when the wrong has wrought its worst
Shall arise Redeemers answering to their need.
From some backwood Bethlehem
Their Christ shall come to them;
Thro' the roaring hells of Mammon, by the path
Of mocking Calvaries, he shall pass on in his wrath,
Till his hands have hewn the way
To the daylight and the Day.

Shall he falter in the strife? Shall he endure?
Nay: his step is very sure.

Where the school-house banner flaunts the morning breeze,
Where the rough farm student strides amid the wheat,
Where the voice of knowledge fills a thousand halls,
Where the athletes in their mimic warfare meet;
Where the master grasps the brand
Of lightning in his hand,
And the hidden Powers of Air to service bent
Proclaim the issue of the long experiment,
I behold the future race
Arise in strength and grace;
Shall they falter? Shall they fail? Shall they endure?
Lo, the onward march is sure.

* * * * *

America and other poems, pp. 14-19. New York. John Lane Company. 1914.

THE MEANING OF CITIZENSHIP

AN ADDRESS TO NEWLY NATURALIZED CITIZENS
PHILADELPHIA, MAY 10, 1915

WOODROW WILSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

This is the only country in the world which experiences constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be to God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin. These things are very sacred and ought not to be

put out of our hearts, but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You can not dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You can not become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be not only always to think first of America, but always also to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the

ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We can not exempt you from work; no man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We can not exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day; that is common to mankind everywhere. We can not exempt you from the loads that you must carry; we can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow citizens, whether they have been my fellow citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling what you have so generously given me—the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN CITIZEN

GEORGE A. GORDON

IMMIGRANT, WRITER, PROFESSOR, MINISTER OF THE OLD SOUTH
CHURCH, BOSTON.

The Republic of the United States is in fact a nation of immigrants, a nation of aliens. All have made the great migration, all have come hither from other parts of the earth. The only difference among Americans is that some came earlier while others came later, indeed as it were yesterday, to these shores. The only aboriginal American is the Indian. This historical fact should be forever borne in mind. We came hither first or last, across the ocean, and from the ends of the earth.

There is however a ground of distinction among Americans; they are rightly divided into native citizens and citizens foreign born. The native citizen has grown into the being of the society that his alien ancestors helped to form. He has in his blood an American inheritance; his instincts have been fed with native food; he is alive to nothing else as he is to the American Republic. We foreign-born Americans acknowledge his distinction, we rejoice in his happiness, we count ourselves fortunate to stand with him in the great communion of free citizens. We ask him, in his turn, to read in the story of our migration the struggle of his ancestors; we remind him of what we left be-

hind, what we brought with us, and at what cost we gained our American citizenship.

In the words that I have chosen as my text [*And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this citizenship.*—Acts 22:28] we have a foreign-born Roman citizen. Exactly where he was born we do not know; we do know that he was born outside Roman citizenship. He was, therefore, an adopted citizen of the Roman Empire and to this he refers in the words that I have quoted, "With a great sum obtained I this citizenship."

There are three implications in these words: the cost of citizenship to this man; the privilege of citizenship to him; his duty as a Roman citizen. These three points will be a convenient guide to us in our discussion of the subject, The Foreign-born American Citizen.

I. First of all, then, there is the cost to this man of citizenship in the Roman Empire. He obtained it with a great sum; to get it made him poor.

There are few among native-born American citizens who understand the sacrifice made by foreign-born citizens of the heritage of childhood and boyhood in the wonder-world of early life. There is the bereavement of the early mystic, unfathomable touch of nature that comes to one only through one's native land. Never again to see the sun rise and set over the dear old hills, with the hero's mantle like the bloom of the heather resting upon them, and the shadow of an immemorial race, is truly a great bereavement. Never again to see the green pastures, with the flocks quietly feeding in them, under the shade of the plot of trees here and there mercifully provided by the humanity of previous generations, nor to hear the music of the river that has sung into being and out of being forty generations of human lives; never again to see the fields covered with corn, nor to hear the reaper's song among the yellow corn; never again to see the light that welcomed you when you were born, that smiled on you when you were baptized, that went with you to school, that watched your play, that constituted the beautiful, the glorious environment of your early days; never again to hear the song of the native birds, the skylark in the morning, the mavis at nightfall, and the wild whistle of the blackbird under the heat of noon from his thorny den—all this is simply an inexpressible bereavement. Nature is inwoven with the soul in its

earliest years, its beauty, its wildness, its soul becomes part of the soul of every deep-hearted human being, and never again can nature be seen as she was seen through the wonder of life's morning.

It is this spell of nature over the young soul that gives its exquisite pathos to Hood's world-familiar melody:

"I remember, I remember,
The house where I was born,
The little window where the sun
Came peeping in at morn;
He never came a wink too soon,
Nor brought too long a day,
But now, I often wish the night
Had borne my breath away!

* * * * *

"I remember, I remember,
The fir trees dark and high;
I used to think their slender tops
Were close against the sky:
It was a childish ignorance,
But now 'tis little joy
To know I'm farther off from heav'n
Than when I was a boy."

There it is, the mystic, divine influence of nature through the atmosphere of the country of one's birth; every immigrant to this country makes that great surrender.

There is, too, the early humanity. You go down-town, you who are native-born American citizens, and every day you meet those whom you have known from birth, your earliest playmates and schoolmates, and those who went to college with you, who entered business with you, who fought side by side with you through the great war, revered what you revered, laughed at what you laughed at and felt as you felt over the glory and tenderness of existence. You do not know what they have left behind them who never see a face that they knew in childhood, who will never meet again, till time is no more, a schoolmate or an earlier companion, who will never gather again in the old home with father and mother and brothers and sisters; only the most favored have had a fugitive glance, like looking at a telegraph pole from an express train,

of those dear, early faces. There is a whole world of bereavement of early, tender, beautiful humanity on the part of all who come here. And this, again, you hear in those two verses in "Auld Lang Syne":

"We twa hae run about the braes,
And pu'd the gowans fine,
But we've wandered monie a weary foot
Sin' auld lang syne.
"We twa hae paid'd in the burn
From morning sun till dine,
But seas between us braid hae roar'd
Sin' auld lang syne."

There is one other surrender: there is the suffering of adjustment in a new country. The first year I spent in Boston, from July, 1871, to considerably more than July, 1872, I conceived my condition to be as near that of the spirits in hell as anything I could imagine! To be in a city where nobody knew you, where you knew nobody, where so many wanted to take advantage of the "greenhorn," to laugh at him if he ever grew for a moment a bit sentimental, was not exactly heaven. Many and many a time I went down to the wharf to see the ships with their white sails, written all over with invisible tidings from the far, sunny islands left behind, and if I had not been restrained by shame and pride I should have gone home. That is the experience of the Scandinavian, English, Scotch, Irish, Teuton, Slav, Armenian, Syrian, and Latin; the bereavement of nature and early humanity is deepened by the sorrow of readjustment in a foreign land. "With a great sum obtained we this citizenship"; few understand it, few indeed. Foreign-born American citizenship is preceded by a vast sacrifice, and you never can understand that sort of citizenship till you take an account of this really profound experience.

2. The next thing in the experience of the chief captain was his privilege as a Roman citizen. His station and bearing and power told of that privilege. He was a military tribune in the legion stationed in Jerusalem; he had risen to important command and power impossible for him, inaccessible to him if he had not obtained citizenship.

America has been called the land of opportunity. Look at this fact in three directions only, since time will allow no more. The common workman may become, by intelligence, by diligence and by fidelity, the master workman. Cast your eyes over the land to-day and assemble the master workmen and you will find that the vast majority of them have risen from the position of ordinary workmen to the chief places in their trade and calling. Such a chance for ascension in a broad way for all competent men, in the Old World, is a simple impossibility. The chance does not exist there. Men rise there by talent and by luck, by talent and by favoritism. But here in a broad and magnificent manner they rise by talent and industry, fidelity and force; here as nowhere else they have a chance to work out what is in them.

Consider this in the things of intellect. The Old World calls us an uneducated race. It is true that we have not many great scholars; the reason is that we are engaged with immediate pressing problems; we apply intelligence to living issues which in other lands is applied to the Genitive and the Accusative and the Dative cases of the Latin and Greek languages. When we look backward and consider the provision made for the intellect of the nation during the last fifty years, we claim that there is no parallel to it in any country on which the sun shines. More money has gone to colleges and schools and universities for men and for women, open to all talent from ocean to ocean and from the Canadian border to the Gulf, than was ever dedicated to education in the same length of time in the history of mankind. Not only is there provision for the regulars but also for the irregulars; all sorts of evening schools flourish in our cities where the first teachers of the community are available for talented and aspiring youth of slender means. Men are practicing medicine and law; they are in the ministry and in other professions, usually called learned, who never saw the inside of a college or university, who have obtained an education in what is called an irregular way, from and by the very men who are teaching in these regular academic institutions.

Let me remind you of the abundant hospitality, the wonderful generosity of the American people toward aspiring youth. Talent which would be ignored in Great Britain, promise which would be sneered at in every continental country in Europe, is here discovered and encouraged to develop into power. This is a

phenomenon of which we must never lose sight, the chance here in the United States for a man to be intellectually all that it is possible for him to be. The best teachers may often be seen here wielding the educational power of history and the arts to train the youth to whom college is an impossibility, for service requiring educated powers, in his day and generation.

There is to be noted the opportunity in the war of character and moral influence that comes to citizens of the United States. What does that mean? The chance to change and improve the law of the land, the chance for a man to change and improve the government of the United States, the chance to modify in the line of humanity the social feeling of the United States. And freedom is here the condition of all; it is the breath of life; every man who complains that things are not what they should be has a chance by his vote to remedy the abuse and to take another step toward the ideal.

Here again is something new, measuring it against the whole people. We are dupes and fools when we allow ourselves to be ruled by groups in this country; we are free men, with the power in our hands. If we have moral ideals of our own, and moral character, we can so use them as to lift the character of the land in which we live.

3. Finally, there was the duty of the tribune as a Roman citizen. Paul was about to be bound and tortured, without trial, when he appealed to the chief captain, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" This startled the man. "Tell me, art thou a Roman? Good heavens, this will never do! I am pledged to do my duty! Get off those shackles and set the man free and guard his life!" There was the man's sense of his duty.

What is the duty of foreign-born American citizens? First to learn the English language and to prefer it to all other tongues on the face of the earth. That tongue comes in the splendor of a June day, it breaks over life like a June sunrise, with an atmosphere, tone, beauty, and power for which Americans must ever be unapproachable. Let no American citizen hug his foreign tongue, go into a closet with it and shut out the light of the great English language which carries all our ideals as Americans! The very vessel of the Lord it is, in which American freedom is carried, the language of Shakespeare and Milton, the incomparable free man: the language of Bacon and Burke and Washington

and Hamilton and Webster and Lincoln. This tongue consecrates the immigrant who would be a citizen; he can never be a citizen of the United States without that, never. This is the tongue that carries in a unique translation the literature of Israel; the Bible is the maker of free peoples.

Next, we foreign-born American citizens must read the story of the Revolution into our blood. What is the significance of the Revolution for the foreign-born American citizen? These men were Englishmen or the sons of Englishmen; they loved the British Isles better than any portion of the earth's surface, except their own Colonies; they loved them with an inexpressible love. Yet when it came to a question of principle they stood out and said, "We must be free; the Colonies, or the United States, first!" You recall Daniel Webster's splendid eloquence here:

"On this question of principle, while actual suffering was yet afar off, they raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome in the height of her glory is not to be compared—a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the mental airs of England."

Against that power to which they were as nothing, against that lovely land of their origin, they stood out when it was a question of their own independence and their own manhood.

That applies to every foreign-born American citizen today—Saxon, Celt, Scandinavian, Teuton, Slav, Latin, Syrian, bond and free. Learn the lesson of the Revolution. This country will have no hands upon it, from any origin, anywhere outside itself. Learn the lesson of the Civil War; the nation that set to work to keep its integrity as a political whole, to keep its integrity as a human whole, to fight, as it had done a foreign dominion, an evil genius inside its own border. There again is a vast lesson to all of us who are foreign born. Once again we should store in memory and ponder in clearest conscience and intelligence the great ideas, the great political ideas of America as they are exhibited in Washington, in Hamilton the Nationalist, and in Jefferson the State Rights' patriot; and again in Webster and Calhoun, in Lincoln and the Confederate, and as they issued at last in a true conception of state freedom in a sisterhood of states that constitutes a great nation. These things should be part

of the common store of knowledge of the adopted citizen. They are the great forces that have moved this country from its earliest beginning; and that have lifted it into power and renown.

America must be first; cherish your love for the old country, your tenderness—a man does not need to hate his mother because he loves his wife, but it is his duty to stand by his wife even against his mother. What kind of a country should we have if every citizen, when trouble comes, should prefer in loyalty the land of his birth! What a confused mob of a country we should have! Duty overrides origin, tradition, sentiment. Here and here alone is our supreme and inviolable obligation.

I often think that this great country of ours is ultimately to be the deepest-hearted and the brightest-minded nation of the world. Hither come, with sore hearts, burdened humanity and quickened intelligence, the elect; yes, the elect from all nations. You look at them when they land and you laugh. If you had been in Quebec when I landed perhaps you would not have wanted me for your minister! The elect from all nations, parts of a splendid orchestra—violin, flute, cornet, drum, trumpet, and a score of other instruments, all pouring forth their genius to make the great, swelling, soul-stirring symphony of this mighty nation. Thus from Scandinavia, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Armenia, Greece; from England, Ireland and Scotland they come—all are here with great souls to make a new and greater America. Out of this composite land, this Pentecostal nation—sometimes it seems to me minus the Holy Ghost—this nation gathered from every people under heaven, rags and tatters and dirt and all, I believe that the Eternal Spirit will evolve and establish the most gifted, the most far-shining and the mightiest people in the world. God grant that our dream may come true!

The Appeal of the Nation. 15-29. Boston. Pilgrim Press. 1917.

AMERICAN IDEALS AND RACE MIXTURE

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

AMERICAN RECTOR, CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, NEW YORK; WORKER
FOR HIS FELLOW MEN.

The rapidity with which the democratic ideas are taken on by immigrants under the influence of our institutions is remarkable. I have personally had experiences with French-Canadians, Portuguese, Hebrews and Italians. These races have certainly taken advantage of their opportunities among us in a fashion to promise well for their final effect upon this country. The French-Canadian has become a sufficiently good American to have given up his earlier programme of turning New England into a new France—that is, into a Catholic province or of returning to the Province of Quebec. He is seeing something better than a racial or religious ideal in the freedom of American citizenship; and on one or two occasions, when he had political power in two municipalities, he refrained from exercising it to the detriment of the public-school system. He has added a gracious manner and a new feeling for beauty to New England traits.

The Portuguese have taken up neglected or abandoned New England agricultural land and have turned it to productive and valuable use. Both the French-Canadian and the Portuguese have come to us by way of the New England textile mills.

The actual physical machinery of civilization—cotton-mills, woolen-mills, iron-mills, etc.—lock up a great deal of human energy physical and mental, just as one hundred years ago the farms did, from which later sprang most of the members of our dominant industrial class. A better organization of society, by which machinery would do still more and afford a freer play for mental and physical energy and organization, would find a response from classes that are now looked upon as not contributing to our American culture; would unlock the high potentialities in the laboring classes, now unguessed and unexpended.

The intellectual problems and the advanced thinking of the Hebrew, his fondness for study, and his freedom on the whole from wasteful forms of dissipation, sport, and mental stagnation, constitute him a more fortunate acquisition for this country than are thousands of the descendants of Colonial settlers. In short

we must reconstruct our idea of democracy—of American democracy. This done, we must construct a new picture of citizenship. If we do these things we shall welcome the rugged strength of the peasant or the subtle thought of the man of the Ghetto in our reconsidered American ideals. After all, what are these American ideals we boast so much about? Shall we say public schools, the ballot, freedom? The American stock use private schools when they can afford them; they too often leave town on Election Day; as for freedom, competent observers believe it is disappearing. The conservators and believers in American ideals seem to be our immigrants. To the Russian Jew, Abraham Lincoln is a god. If American ideals are such as pay honor to the intellectual and to the spiritual or foster human brotherhood or love culture and promote liberty, then they are safe with our new citizens who are eager for these things.

Not only do these races bring with them most desirable qualities, but they themselves are subjected to new environment and strongly influential conditions. Just here arise duties for the present masters of America. Ought they not to create an industrial, social and educational environment of the most uplifting sort for our foreign-born citizens?

If working-people are obliged to live in unhealthful tenements situated in slums or marsh land, if the saloon is allowed to be their only social center, if they are fought by the rich in every effort to improve their condition, we may expect any misfortune to happen to them and also any fate to befall the State.

What improved *milieu* can do to improve the physique is easily seen on all sides. The increase in the height and weight of Americans in the last few decades is conspicuous. Even the size of American girls and boys has increased, and this increase in size is commonly attributed to the more comfortable conditions of life, to better food, and especially to the popularity of all forms of athletics, and the extension, as in the last twenty-five or thirty years, of the out-of-door and country life. If these factors have made so marked and visible a change in the physique of the children of native-born Americans, why may not the same conditions also contribute an improvement to the more recent immigrant stock?

Our question, then, as to the effect of race mixture is not the rather supercilious one: What are we admitting into America that may possibly injure American ideals? but, What are the old

American races doing to perpetuate these ideals? And is not our future as a race, largely by our own fault, in the hands of the peasant races of Europe?

After all, for those who pin their faith to the Baltic and northern European races, there is reason for hope to be found even in current immigration. From 1899 to 1910, the Hebrew, southern Italian, Polish and Slovak period, of the nine millions who landed in the United States, while there were 377,527 Slovaks and 318,151 Magyars, there were 408,614 English, 586,306 Scandinavians, and 754,375 Germans, and even 136,842 Scotch, 151,774 Finnish, 439,724 Irish and 20,752 Welsh. Two millions and a half from northern Europe—over twenty-six per cent. One million seventy-four thousand are Hebrews, mostly from Russia; and the Russian Jews, according to a most distinguished German Jew, are intellectually the ablest Hebrews in America. If, on the other hand, nearly two millions of the immigrants of the last decade have been southern Italians, let us show them gratitude for their invaluable manual labor, for their willingness, their patience, their power for fast work, and their love of America. Their small stature does not argue their degeneracy. The Romans were small compared to the Goths—small, but well formed and strong. The Japanese are also small.

Indifference, prejudice, illiteracy, segregation of recent immigrants by parochial schools, by a native colonial press, bad physical and social environment, and the low American ideals of citizenship held by those the immigrant sees or hears most about, obstruct race assimilation; but all these can be changed. Yes, it is the keeping up of difference and class isolation that destroys and deteriorates. Fusion is a law of progress.

* * * *

Every act of religious or civil tyranny, every economic wrong done to races in all the world, becomes the burden of the nation to which the oppressed flee for relief and opportunity. And the beauty of democracy is that it is a method by which these needs may freely express themselves and bring about what the oppressed have prayed for and have been denied. Let us be careful not to put America into the class of the oppressors. Let us rise to an eminence higher than that occupied by Washington or Lincoln, to a new Americanism which is not afraid of the blending in the western world of races seeking freedom. Our present problem is the greatest in our history. Not colonial inde-

pendence, not Federal unity, but racial amalgamation is the heroic problem of the present, with all it implies in purification and revision of old social, religious and political ideals, with all it demands in new sympathy outside of blood and race, and in a willingness to forego old-time privileges.

* * * *

If America has done anything for an American, it ought to have made him helpful and hopeful toward mankind, especially the poor and oppressed; but science to-day comes to the assistance of democracy and finds the lyric cry of brotherhood in the laws of nature:

"Open thy gates, O thou favored of Heaven,
Open thy gates to the homeless and poor.
So shalt thou garner the gifts of the ages—
From the Northlands their vigor,
The Southlands their grace,
In a mystical blending of souls that presages
The birth of earth's rarest, undreamable race."

North American Review. 195:513-25. April, 1912.

THE MELTING POT

ISRAEL ZANGWILL,

DRAMATIST, POET, PHILOSOPHER

"There she lies, the great Melting Pot. Listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbor where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian—black and yellow. Yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the kingdom of God. Ah, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races come to labor and look forward.

The Melting Pot. A drama. New York Macmillan, 1909.

HENRY HUDSON'S LOG

A. GUITERMAN.

Wee anchored safe in Fathoms four
Within a Baye, and did espie
A pleasaunt, many-peopled Shore
With Lodges most amazing hie,

From where some Natives, partlie tamed,
Did come in Shallops nine or ten
To make us Speeches—these were named
“Ye Sons-in-Lawe of Famous Men.”

Ashore wee went, and soon a Band
Appeared, bedecked with Silver Starres,
Which called themselves, I understand
“Ye Sons of Them Which Fitt in Warres.”

Another Tribe did entertaine
Our Tars at Meat within an Halle,
And they were hight, “Ye Noble Straine
Of Them Which Came Here First of Alle!”

Their Womankind in Bevies Twain
Did make us Cheere with Daunce and Song,
But eyther Group in hie Disdain
Did scorn ye other Lovelie Throng;

Yea, each called other, “Sycophants”
And “Upstarte Crewe!”—Their Rightful Names
Were “Nieces of Ancestral Aunts,”
And “Daughters of Maternal Dames.”

Ye “Sons of Irish Pioneers,”
Ye “Native Sons of Foreign Kynges,”
Ye “Sons of Hessian Grenadiers,”
And Sundrie Sons of Other Thynges

About us raised a Goodlie Stir,
A Modest Folk they seemed to mee,
More Vaine of what their Fathers were
Than Proud of what theirselves might bee.

Yet more were there too Low to wear
Grand Coats-of-Arms or courtlie Masks—
An Hoste which found no Time to spare
But strongly toiled at many Tasks.

I craved of One of Sturdie Mold,
“What ‘Sons’ bee ye?” With Merrie Face,
“No ‘Sons’ !” he cried; “in us behold
Ye Fathers of ye Coming Race.”

The Laughing Muse. Pp. 82-4. Harper. 1915

ESSENTIALS FOR AMERICANIZATION (1916)

EDWARD A. STEINER

PROFESSOR OF APPLIED CHRISTIANITY, GRINNELL COLLEGE, IOWA; IMMIGRANT, AMERICAN, BORN IN AUSTRIA.

In my judgment we have succeeded in keeping America a country of English speech just because we have not insisted upon it. If there had been governmental pressure brought to bear upon the immigrant's use of English we would have fallen heir to the confusion of Babel, and to the never ending language problems of many of the countries of Europe.

Just because we have not objected to religion's being preached in the tongue in which men were born, the second generation demanded to hear it in English.

We have permitted the Poles to build a Polish college which will languish, and ultimately pass away, just as the purely German colleges have languished and died. The one thing we need to make the hyphen permanent, or, worse still, make this a country of warring hyphens, is to demand through pressure that

nothing but the English language shall be taught and spoken here.

I am not sure that we can, or that we ought, to accelerate Americanization. Thus far it has been a contagion with no artificial stimulus. When we shall say "Go to, we will Americanize you," there will be organized efforts to resist us, and the resistance will grow with our insistence.

We have, I am sure, lost many opportunities to interpret America to the immigrant, especially to the adult. He does not come in contact with any of our national institutions except the saloon and the police court. If he does become a citizen he usually attains to that high and holy privilege through the venal politician.

The whole process of naturalization, which has received some attention in these later years, needs to be further revised and improved; especially by dignifying it and by making the applicant realize that it is a privilege which he may forfeit if he does not perform its duties conscientiously.

I am not sure that the attempt to accelerate naturalization, by making the process easier, may not end in cheapening it still further. I believe that every man who wishes to become a citizen ought to be willing to take pains and make sacrifices, if necessary to gain that end.

Citizenship is too valuable a possession to be thrown at people, and it is a mistaken notion to believe that because a man has taken out his naturalization papers he is necessarily a patriot. In fact, we know that the two are not identical, and I can easily imagine myself loving this country and being ready to sacrifice myself for it, even had I not the sometimes doubtful privilege of voting.

We should apply a test more searching than the mere answering of a few questions which may be learned by rote. No man should be allowed to become a citizen unless his conduct, during five years' residence in this country, has proved that he is already an American in spirit; that he knows the meaning of liberty and has not abused it; and that he is capable of cooperating with others in realizing that freedom.

He ought to be able to prove that he has left behind him Europe's racial, religious and national animosities and prejudices. He ought not to become a child of this democracy, and, as often

happens, an added care, until he has proved that he knows its meaning and has lived up to it.

These rigid tests might be difficult to apply, but certainly I should be greatly opposed to any cheapening of the process. The exploited immigrant is very poor material for good citizenship, whether that exploitation has been made by the shrewder and earlier comers among his own, which is frequently the case, by heartless corporations, or by petty officials who are supposed to protect him.

Our satellite cities, crude, huge, springing up to-day and ready to perish to-morrow, are poor places in which to train men for citizenship. The hovels in which the immigrants live, or are permitted to live, the vulgarity and brutality of the life which surrounds them, are also poor places for the training of future American citizens from whom we expect self-respect, respect for others, and power to control themselves and others.

The greatest enemy of the immigrant is the saloon; and if he could not obtain liquor, it would prove one of the greatest blessings to him and to the community in which he lives.

It is more necessary to prohibit the sale of liquor to certain groups of immigrants than to the Indians: for the most docile and law-abiding among them are turned into fiends by its use. It has been one of the most potent agencies in despoiling and corrupting them.

A rigid insistence upon economic and social justice, and the assurance that the state looks upon them as something more than animated machines, to be used and abused at the owners' will, would bind these millions in gratitude to the country of which they know little or nothing, except when they are punished for breaking its laws.

I have strongly urged, but thus far in vain, that every ship which carries emigrants should have on board a United States officer who would use the time of transit to instruct the people coming to us. They should be told of their privileges and their duties, the nature of our government and the part they may ultimately have in it.

I have often acted voluntarily in such a capacity, and have found that by the aid of immigrants who are returning to us, such instruction can be effectively given.

Much of the preliminary work of inspection could thus be

done. I know there are difficulties in the way, but they are not insurmountable.

The immigrant receiving station should not be merely a heartless machine for this sifting of human material. The government ought to do something more for these people than put a chalk mark upon their coats, or open the gate of a strange and new country without a word of advice or warning.

Our national holidays might gain new significance for us if in some public manner we would share them with these newcomers for whom festivals have always had great religious and national meaning.

The machinery of electing our public servants might be made elevating rather than degrading to the new sharers of the great privileges of our democracy.

I have the utmost faith in the power of a good example, and firmly believe that we must develop a finer type of native American citizen.

Consider the attitude of the average American towards the government of his city or country, the low tone of our discussion of public issues, the ridicule which we heap upon our officials from which even the chief magistrate is not spared; the personal and partisan selfishness so strongly in evidence even in this most critical moment of our national life. Need we then wonder if every hyphenated citizen does not manifest the gracious unselfishness of a George Washington or the sacrificial devotion of an Abraham Lincoln?

At least one American writer shows ignorance regarding the immigrant's character by calling him ungrateful.

Among all his shortcomings this is the least, and among his virtues it is the greatest, as every one knows who has sensed the soul of these grateful people.

There are among them those who bitterly assail our social order, with its glaring injustice to the many. They criticize our laws which protect property to the neglect of person, which is infinitely more sacred. They are merely doing in their crude way what is being done every day in our colleges in a somewhat more refined but more incisive way. The difference is that the agitator prints his protest in pamphlets and binds them in red; while the professor writes a volume which he calls a text-book.

No, they are not an ungrateful people. It is true that one of

them has said, in public print, that when the war is over the Germans will return to the Fatherland *en masse*, because all they sought here was economic betterment. There may be an exodus of some Germans. In fact every German who has ceased to be a loyal American, who has no confidence in her institutions, who has no faith in her ideals, ought to return, for he would be a menace to those of us who remain and who will find it difficult enough to be trusted at a time when we shall be eager to prove our love and loyalty to our adopted country.

The larger number which will expatriate itself from this country will be certain Americans returning to their *chateaux* in France, their *pensions* and villas in Italy, and their *spas* and *cursaals* in Germany. All these are now deserted, nearly bankrupt, and will be glad when the Americans return.

The problem will not be to keep the immigrants from going back; the real problem will be, how, wisely to regulate the inflow which is bound to come when the war ceases.

We, the "Hyphenated Americans," will stay, because we need this country, because humanity needs it and its institutions, now as never before. We wish to help it become such a country as it ought to be, kept from Europe's plagues, and healed from its disease. We wish to live and work so that we shall have the right to call it *our* country. We ought to have the same right to it as had those of our kin who followed your rivers, the Mohawk, the Ohio and the Mississippi; drawing their plows through your marshes, defying fever and pestilence, laying the foundations of your national wealth, and shedding their blood upon your battlefields.

We want this to become our country, through the labor of the men who mine your coal, who dig and melt your ore; and by the sacrifices of those who die in the heart of the mine and are slain at the mouth of the pit.

These brave millions working so courageously are ours and yours; the pioneers of a new epoch, the creators of a new era. It is for you to say what the coming days are to mean to them, and to you, and to the country which they love in spite of its sins against them.

What will you do with them? It is for you to say. You may break them over the wheels of what you proudly call progress. You may starve them into the submissive serfdom out of which they have escaped. You may make them ashamed of

their heritage, lodged in brain and heart, or you may make cowards of them and compel them to bow before your flag, as a symbol of authority; but they will not be Americans.

The only way I know in which to make Americans of them, members of a free commonwealth, is to treat them like human beings.

Treat them as you would the child born late into your own family—as one of you; have confidence in them, even in these days, when their loyalty may be wavering, and when in their confusion they do not know where to turn.

This is a time of heart-searching for us who have accepted America's sanctuary, and also for those born in this land of the free. To the native American there comes a call to curb his individualism without sacrificing his individuality; to quicken his patriotic impulses without dulling his feeling to prepare for war, and a still more insistent call to prepare for peace; a deep, down-reaching peace, a high, uplifting peace.

For us, so-called "Hyphenated Americans," this period is one to severely test our loyalty to this country which has become ours by the grace of its people. They are a generous people, who mean to be just, a people whom we know to be far better than they appear to us now, and to whom we are bound for all time.

In our heart of hearts we love this country more than Germany or Austria or England or France; we love it above the holy names of Jerusalem or Rome—The Sanctuary of Humanity—America.

Confessions of a hyphenated American, pp. 51-63, a lecture delivered under the auspices of the League for Political Education, New York. Fleming H. Revell Company. 1916.

NEW AMERICANS

WALTER E. WEYL

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When we compare the America of today with the America of half a century ago, certain differences stand out sharply. America to-day is far richer. It is also more stratified. Our social gamut has been widened. There are more vivid contrasts, more startling differences, in education and in the general chances of life. We are less rural and more urban, losing the virtues and

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the vices, the excellences and the stupidities, of country life, and gaining those of the city. We are massing in our cities armies of the poor to take the place of country ne'er-do-wells and village hangers-on. We are more sophisticated. We are more lax and less narrow. We have lost our earlier frugal simplicity, and have become extravagant and competitively lavish. We have, in short, created a new type of American, who lives in the city, reads newspapers and even books, bathes frequently, travels occasionally; a man, fluent intellectually and physically restless, ready but not profound, intent upon success, not without idealism, but somewhat disillusioned, pleasure-loving, hard working, humorous. At the same time there grows a sense of a social maladjustment, a sense of a failure of America to live up to expectations, and an intensifying desire to right a not clearly perceived wrong. There develops a vigorous, if somewhat vague and untrained, moral impulse, an impulse based on social rather than individual ethics, unesthetic, democratic, headlong.

Although this development might have come about in part, at least, without immigration, the process has been enormously accelerated by the arrival on our shores of millions of Europeans. These men came to make a living, and they made not only their own but other men's fortunes. They hastened the dissolution of old conditions; they undermined old standards by introducing new; their very traditions facilitated the growth of that traditionless quality of the American mind which hastened our material transformation.

This very passivity of the newly arrived immigrant is the most tremendous of influences. The workman who does not join a union, the citizen who sends his immature children to the factory, the man who does not become naturalized, or who maintains a standard of living below an inadequate wage, such a one by contagion and pressure changes conditions and lowers standards all about him, undermining to the extent of his lethargy our entire social edifice. The aim of Americanization is to combat this passive influence. Two forces, like good and evil, are opposed on that long frontier line where the immigrant comes into contact with the older resident. The American, through self-protection, not love, seeks to raise the immigrant to his economic level; the immigrant, through self-protection, not through knowledge, involuntarily accepts conditions which tend to drag the American down to his. In this contest much that we

ordinarily account virtue is evil; much that is ugly is good. The immigrant girl puts on a corset, exchanges her picturesque head-dress for a flowering monstrosity of an American hat, squeezes her honest peasant's foot into a narrow, thin-soled American shoe—and behold, it is good. It is a step toward assimilation, toward a more expensive if not a more lovely standard of living. It gives hostages to America. It makes the frenzied saving of the early days impossible. Docility, abnegation, and pecuniary abasement are not economic virtues, however highly they may be rated in another category.

In still other ways this assimilation alters and limits the alien's influence. Much is lost in the process. The immigrant comes to us laden with gifts, but we have not the leisure to take nor he the opportunity to tender. The brilliant native costumes, the strange, vibrant dialects, the curious mental molds are soon faded or gone. The old religions, the old customs, the traditional manners, the ancient lace do not survive the melting-pot. Assimilation, however necessary, ends the charm and rareness of our quaint human importations.

The time has passed when we exulted in the number of grown-up men, bred at another country's expense, who came to work for us and fertilize our soils with their dead bones. The time has passed when we believed that mere numbers were all. To-day, despite night schools, settlement, and a whole network of Americanizing agencies, we have teeming, polyglot slums and the clash of race with race in sweatshop and factory, mine and lumber-camp. We have a mixture of ideals, a confusion of standards, a conglomeration of clashing views of life. We, the many-nationed nation of America, bring the Puritan tradition, a trifle anemic and thin, a little the worse for disuse. The immigrant brings a Babel of traditions, an all too plastic mind, a willingness to copy our virtues and vices, to imitate us for better or for worse. All of which hampers and delays the formation of a national consciousness.

From whatever point we view the new America, we cannot help seeing how intimately the changes have been bound up with our immigration, especially with that of recent years. The widening of the social gamut becomes more significant when we recall that with unrestricted immigration our poorest citizens are periodically recruited from the poor of the poorest countries of Europe. Our differences in education, while they have other

causes, are sharply accentuated by our enormous development of university and high schools at the one end, and by the increasing illiteracy* of our immigrants at the other. In cities where there are large immigrant populations we note the beginning of a change in our attitude toward the public schools, toward universal suffrage, toward many of the pious, if unrealized, national ideals of an earlier period.

Fundamentally, however, the essential fact about our present-day immigration is not that the immigrant has changed (though that fact is of great importance), but that the America to which the immigrant comes has changed fundamentally and permanently. And the essential fact about the immigrant's effect on American character is this, that the gift of the immigrant to the nation is not the qualities which he himself had at home, but the very qualities which Americans have always had. In other words, at a time when American industrial, political, and social conditions are changing, partly as a result of immigration itself, the immigrant hampers our psychological adjustment to such changes by giving scope and exercise to old national characteristics which should be obsolescent.

America to-day is in transition. We have moved rapidly from one industrial world to another, and this progress has been aided and stimulated by immigration. The psychological change, however, which should have kept pace with this industrial transition, has been slower and less complete. It has been retarded by the very rapidity of our immigration, and by the tremendous educational tasks which that influx placed upon us. The immigrant is a challenge to our highest idealism, but the task of Americanizing the extra millions of new-comers has hindered progress in the task of democratizing America.

Chautauquan. 39:217-25. My, 1904.

Harper. 129:615-22. S. '14.

* Percentage of illiteracy among the foreign-born is apparently not increasing in spite of the great increase in numbers of illiterate foreign-born.—[Editor.]

THE ALIEN

HENRY B. FULLER

POET, KINDLY STUDENT OF HIS FELLOW MEN

As a child
In her own native town,
She played amidst—
But you, complaisant reader,
Shall set the scene quite as you choose.
Make her loved region
Plainland or mountain, at your wish;
And her natal place
A close-built town of stuccoed fronts
With a baroque-façaded church for the dull priest,
Crushed down by a deep pediment;
Or let the church soar up in bulbous spires,
From many loose disheveled shacks of wood.
(In either case, make nothing of the school.)
And let an unbridged river mope through wide marshes,
Or dash in headlong flight
Over a broad, sandy bottom to the sea.
Let there be many unwilling soldiers,
To cow their brothers of the street and fields;
And tyrannous officials in abundant measure,
Who draw their sanction from some distant capital—
Or act without it;
And let there be a few stout hearts,
Impelled by hope, or misery, or courage,
Or all three,
To venture toward the other world.

She crosses at ten;
And after many days they showed her,
Through a far-shimmering, watery haze,
A towering, iron-spiked head,
And told her she was free.

Free in the close-built streets of a tight-packed city;
Free in the swirling tide of the lately-come and the
about-to-come;
Free to trip or trudge behind a push-cart
Through clattering ways; or, later,

To mouse beneath a counter
On which were heaped coarse gloves and shirts and shoes—
Or, an it please you better,
Strange cheeses and odd fruits or vegetables
Plaited in strings or netted in festoons.
And through it all—this newness—
One's own dear tongue, one's old home ways.

After a time, courted in the hurly-burly
By one from her own province;
Then another shop, better and bigger,
With their own infants playing on the floor,
Or chancing fate outside;
And one of these, a son,
Destined to be the family's morning-star—
Nay, its bright sun in the new heaven;
The brightest boy in school—

That school where this strange people
Offered—and compelled—instruction free
Then, after some brief years
Through which he sharpened up his wits
On theory and practice,
He took his father's petty shop and juggled it.
It grew within his hands, beneath their eyes,
To proportions quite unprecedented.
He walked the shining road of quick success,
Skipping from peak to peak.
At thirty-five
He labored in one palace, lived in another,
And hundreds from his mother's country,
And other hundreds of abject natives,
Slaved for his further good.

Soon her grandsons were sporting familiarly
Through picture-gallery or ballroom,
And harrying costly furniture,
Jacobean, Louis Seize or Empire—
It changed with passing seasons—
In childish games.
There were dinners, stately showy things,

From which she was discreetly absent,
There were receptions, with music, let us say,
At which she would appear briefly
In distant doorways
Blinking dark, narrow eyes at the incredible scene,
And then retiring.
It was a strange, strange world—
A world apart from her,
And she apart from it.
She stumbled through its purlieus
(Gorgeous they seemed),
And stammered through its language
(One she had never rightly learned to speak).

In her retired bedroom
She gossiped with a few old cronies
Of origin like hers,
And shyly entertained her grandchildren,
When they would permit.
On certain designated days
Women, from somewhere,
Went by, to somewhere,
On public business—to “vote,” she heard it said:
A thing repellent and incredible.
Other things, no less repellent and incredible
Were printed in the papers, she was told;
But these she never read.

In due course her grandsons
Turned lawyers, doctors, “business men,”
With weapons of offense and defense
Unknown throughout her clan in earlier days.
More than ever was she safeguarded and entrenched
In this remote and alien world.

A great war came.
The quarrel had two sides, she heard.
How two?
Her heart, forgetful quite of old injustices,
Was with the land where stood the little town,
On mountain-stream or plain,

Which once had been her home,
The spot of her nativity.
And midst the family's recent splendors
The younger generations spoke up hotly
(With less discretion than they used outside)
About the exactions of "Americans"
As to the attitude of newer stocks;
And one young lad flung out,
In a moment of high exasperation,
That he would go and help his people's cause.
"Will they let you come back?" she quavered.
Laughter, and it was explained
That the means for letting people in
Were in good order,
But the means for keeping people out
Were good as missing.

So, quietude.
The world was kind and fair;
Privileges were many; obligations, light.
A good soul, all vague and isolate,
Rocked to and fro in her protected chamber;
A little in one world,
A little in another,
A good deal of both;
But tending,
By all the strength of lengthening age
And early ties,
To drift backward toward that world—
For her at once both young and old—
Where she began.
Peace; let her fall asleep.
But let her sons keep open eyes—
And turn them the right way.

ASSIMILATION AND PROGRESS

JEREMIAH W. JENKS AND WILLIAM J. LAUCK

The causes opposing the Americanization of the recent immigrant population may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) Isolation from the natives of a large part of the immigrant population.

(2) Indifference, and to some extent prejudice, on the part of the natives toward immigrants.

(3) Illiteracy of a large proportion of immigrants.

(4) Ignorance resulting from peasant origin of nearly all of the southern European immigrants, and their unpreparedness for so decided changes in environment.

(5) The influence of immigrant churches and parochial schools in emphasizing and maintaining racial and denominational distinctions.

(6) Inability to speak English.

Those factors favorable to the Americanization of southern and eastern European are:

(1) Employment of immigrants in American industries.

(2) Employment of immigrant women as servants in American households.

(3) Residence to some extent of immigrants and natives and association resulting therefrom.

(4) Attendance of immigrant children in American public schools and the teaching of the English and American branches in the immigrant parochial school.

(5) The influence of immigrant priests and pastors in bringing about permanency of residence through the stimulation of property owning and home-making.

The Immigration Problem, pp. 317-18. New York. Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1913.

AMALGAMATION AND ASSIMILATION

JOHN R. COMMONS

ECONOMIST, STUDENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

The term amalgamation may be used for that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock, while assimilation is that union of their minds and will which enables them to think and act together. Amalgamation is a process of centuries but assimilation is a process of individual training. Amalgamation is a blending of races, assimilation a blending of civilizations. Amalgamation is beyond the organized efforts of government, but assimilation can be promoted by social institutions and laws. Amalgamation therefore cannot attract our practical interest, except as its presence or absence sets limits to our efforts toward assimilation.

We have very little exact information regarding the amalgamation of races in America. The earlier census attempts to determine the number of mulattoes was an acknowledged failure and has been abandoned. Nor do we know to what extent there has been an amalgamation of the colonial nationalities. We do know, however, that for the most part they have blended into a united people, with harmonious ideals, and the English, the German, the Scotch-Irish, the Dutch and the Huguenot have become the American.

We speak of superior and inferior races, and this is well enough, but care should be taken to distinguish between that superiority which is the original endowment of race and that which is the result of the education and training which we call civilization. While there are superior and inferior races, there are primitive, medieval and modern civilizations, and there are certain mental qualities required for and produced by these different grades of civilization. A superior race may have a primitive or medieval civilization, and therefore its individuals may never have exhibited the superior mental qualities with which they are actually endowed and which a modern civilization would have called into action. The adults coming from such a civilization seem to be inferior in their mental qualities, but their children, placed in the new environments of the advanced civilization, exhibit at once the qualities of the latter. The Chinaman comes from a medieval civilization—he shows little of those

qualities which are the product of western civilization, and with his imitativeness, routine and traditions, he has earned the reputation of being entirely non-assimilable. But the children of Chinamen, born and reared in this country, entirely disprove this charge, for they are as apt in absorbing the spirit and method of American institutions as any Caucasian.¹

The Teutonic races, until five hundred years after Christ, were primitive in their civilization, yet they had the mental capacities which made them, like Arminius, able to comprehend and absorb the highest Roman civilization. They passed through the medieval period and then came out into the modern period of advanced civilization, yet during these two thousand years their mental capacities, the original endowment of race, have scarcely improved. It is civilization, not race evolution, that has transformed the primitive warrior into the philosopher, scientist, artisan and business man. Could their babies have been taken from the woods two thousand years ago and transported to the homes and schools of modern America, they could have covered in one generation the progress of twenty centuries.² Other races, like the Scotch and the Irish, made the transition from primitive institutions to modern industrial habits within a single century, and Professor Brinton, our most profound student of the American Indian, has said,³ "I have been in close relations to several full-blood American Indians who had been removed from an aboriginal environment and instructed in this manner [in American schools and communities] and I could not perceive that they were either in intellect or sympathies inferior to the usual type of the American gentleman. One of them notably had a refined sense of humor, as well as uncommon acuteness of observation."

The line between superior and inferior races, as distinguished from civilizations, appears to be the line between the temperate and tropical zones. The two belts of earth between the tropics of Capricorn and Cancer and the arctic and antarctic circles have been the areas where man in his struggle for existence developed the qualities of mind and will—the ingenuity, self-reliance, self-control, strenuous exertion, and will power—which make him

¹ See United States Department of Labor, Report on Hawaii, p. 715.

² See an interesting article by H. W. Conn, a leading authority on biology, entitled "Social Heredity," in *The Independent*, January 21, 1904.

³ "Religions of Primitive People," p. 15.

befitting the modern industrial civilization. But in the tropics these qualities are less essential, for where nature lavishes food and winks at the neglect of clothing and shelter, there ignorance, superstition, physical prowess and sexual passion have an equal chance with intelligence, foresight, thrift and self-control. The children of all the races of the temperate zones are eligible to the highest American civilization, and it only needs that they be "caught" young enough. This much cannot be said for the children of the tropical zone. Amalgamation is their door to assimilation. Frederick Douglass, Booker Washington, Professor DuBois are an honor to any race, but they are mulattoes.⁴

Before we can intelligently inquire into the agencies of Americanization we must first agree on what we mean by Americanization. I can think of no comprehensive and concise description equal to that of Abraham Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." This description should be applied not only to the state but to other institutions. In the home it means equality of husband and wife; in the church it means the voice of the laity; in industry the participation of the workmen.

Unhappily, it cannot be said that Lincoln's description has ever been attained. It is the goal which he and others whom we recognize as true Americans have pointed out. Greater than any other obstacle in the road towards that goal have been our race divisions. In the southern states, where race division is most extreme, one-half the population seems to be permanently excluded from a share in government. In the great cities a political bossism allied to plutocracy has gained immunity from successful attack because the people cannot continuously unite across the lines of race and nationality. The Americanism of the rural districts, setting itself against the foreignism of the cities, leaves the state and national governments to the political machines and great financial interests. Government for the people depends on government by the people, and this is difficult where the people cannot think and act together. Such is the problem of Americanization.

In the earlier days the most powerful agency of assimilation was frontier life. The pioneers "were left almost entirely to

⁴ A. H. Stone, "The Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1903.

their own resources in this great struggle. They developed a spirit of self-reliance, a capacity for self-government, which are the most prominent characteristics of the American people."⁵ Frontier life includes pioneer mining camps, as well as pioneer farming.⁶

Next to the frontier the farms of America are the richest field of assimilation. Here the process is sometimes thought to be slower than it is in the cities, but anyone who has seen it under both conditions cannot doubt that if it is slower it is more real. In the cities the children are more thoroughly brought under the influence of the public schools, but more profound and lasting than the education of the schools is the education of the street and community. The work of the schools in a great city like New York cannot be too highly praised, and without such work the future of the immigrant's child would be dark.⁷ But it is the community that gives him his actual working ideals and his habits and methods of life. And in a great city, with its separation of classes, this community is the slums, with its mingling of all races and the worst of the Americans. He sees and knows surprisingly little of the America that his school books describe. The American churches, his American employers, are in other parts of the city, and his Americanization is left to the school teacher, the policeman, and the politician, who generally are but one generation before him from Europe. But on the farm he sees and knows all classes, the best and the worst, and even where his parents strive to isolate their community and to preserve the language and the methods of the old country, only a generation or two is required for the surrounding Americanism to permeate.

The above refers to the children of immigrants. The immigrants themselves are too old for Americanization, especially when they speak a non-English language. To them the labor union is at present the strongest Americanizing force. The union teaches them self-government through obedience to officers elected by themselves. It frees them from the spirit of subservience and gives them their primary lesson in democracy, which is liberty through law.⁸

⁵ Mayo-Smith, "Assimilation of Nationalities," page 440.

⁶ Shinn, "Mining Camps." See bibliography.

⁷ See *World's Work*, July, 1903, "New Citizens for the Republic."

⁸ See article on "Americanization Through Labor Unions," in *The World Today*, October, 1903.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM—THE
IMMIGRANT

JANE ADDAMS

FOUNDER OF HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

Curiously enough, however, as soon as the immigrant situation is frankly regarded as an industrial one, the really political nature of the essentially industrial situation is revealed in the fact that trade organizations which openly concern themselves with the immigration problem on its industrial side quickly take on the paraphernalia and machinery which have hitherto associated themselves with governmental life and control. The trades unions have worked out all over again local autonomy with central councils and national representative bodies and the use of the referendum vote. They also exhibit many features of political corruption and manipulation, but they still contain the purifying power of reality, for the trades unions are engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain a standard wage against the constant arrival of unskilled immigrants at the rate of three-quarters of a million a year, at the very period when the elaboration of machinery permits the largest use of unskilled men. The first real lesson in self-government to many immigrants has come thru the organization of labor unions, and it could come in no other way, for the union alone has appealed to their necessities. And out of these primal necessities one sees the first indication of an idealism of which one at moments dares to hope that it may be sturdy enough and sufficiently founded upon experience to make some impression upon the tremendous immigration situation.

* * * *

It may be owing to the fact that the workingman is brought in direct contact with the situation as a desperate problem of living wage or starvation; it may be that wisdom is at her old trick of residing in the hearts of the simple, or that this new idealism, which is that of a reasonable life and labor, must from the very nature of things proceed from those who labor; or possibly because amelioration arises whence it is so sorely needed; but certainly it is true that, while the rest of the country talks of assimilation as if we were a huge digestive apparatus, the man

with whom the immigrant has come most sharply into competition has been forced into fraternal relations with him.

All the peoples of the world have become part of our tribunal, and their sense of pity, their clamor for personal kindness, their insistence upon the right to join in our progress, cannot be disregarded. The burdens and sorrows of men have unexpectedly become intelligible and urgent to this nation, and it is only by accepting them with some magnanimity that we can develop the larger sense of justice which is becoming world-wide and is lying in ambush, as it were, to manifest itself in governmental relations.

To be afraid of it is to lose what we have. A government has always received feeble support from its constituents as soon as its demands appear childish or remote. Citizens inevitably neglect or abandon civic duty when it no longer embodies their genuine desires. It is useless to hypnotize ourselves by unreal talk of colonial ideals and patriotic duty toward immigrants as if it were a question of passing a set of resolutions. The nation must be saved by its lovers, by the patriots who possess adequate and contemporaneous knowledge. A commingling of racial habits and national characteristics in the end must rest upon the voluntary balance and concord of many forces.

We may with justice demand from the scholar the philosophic statement, the reconstruction, and reorganization of the knowledge which he possesses, only if we agree to make it over into healthy and direct expressions of free living.

Recent Immigration: a Field Neglected by the Scholar. Educational Review. 29:245-63. March, 1905. Chicago University Record.

WHO ARE THE MOUNTAINEERS?

HORACE KEPHART

MOUNTAINEER, AUTHOR, STUDENT OF AMERICAN WOODCRAFT

The southern mountaineers are pre-eminently a rural folk. When the twentieth century opened, only four per cent of them dwelt in cities of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards. There were but seven such cities in all Appalachia—a region larger than England and Scotland combined—and these owed their development to outside influences. Only 77 out of 186 mountain counties had towns of 1,000 and upwards.

Our highlanders are the most homogeneous people in the United States. In 1900, out of a total population of 3,039,835, there were only 18,617 of foreign birth. This includes the cities and industrial camps. Back in the mountains, a man using any other tongue than English, or speaking broken English, was regarded as a freak. Nine mountain counties of Virginia, four of West Virginia, fifteen of Kentucky, ten of Tennessee, nine of North Carolina, eight of Georgia, two of Alabama, and one of South Carolina had less than ten foreign-born residents each. Three of them had none at all.

Compare the North Atlantic states. In this same census year, 57 per cent of their people lived in cities of 8,000 and upwards. As for foreigners—the one city of Fall River, Mass with 104,863 inhabitants, had 50,042 of foreign birth.

The mountains proper are free not only from foreigners but from negroes as well. There are many blacks in the larger valleys and towns, but throughout most of Appalachia the population is almost exclusively white. In 1900, Jackson County, Ky. (the same that sent every one of its sons into the Union army who could bear arms), had only nineteen negroes among 10,542 whites; Johnson County, Ky., only one black resident among 13,729 whites; Dickenson County, Va., not a single negro within its borders.

In many mountain settlements negroes are not allowed to tarry. It has been assumed that this prejudice against colored folk had its origin far back in the time when "poor whites" found themselves thrust aside by competition with slave labor. This is an error. Our mountaineers never had to compete with slavery. Few of them knew anything about it except from hearsay. Their dislike of negroes is simply an instinctive racial antipathy, plus contempt for anyone who submits to servile conditions. A neighbor in the Smokies said to me: "I b'lieve treatin' niggers squar. The Bible says they're human—leastways some says it does—and so there'd order be a place for them. But it's *some place else*—not around me!" That is the whole thing in a nutshell.

Here, then, is Appalachia: one of the great land-locked areas of the globe, more English in speech than Britain itself, more American by blood than any other part of America, encompassed by a high-tensioned civilization, yet less affected to-day by

modern ideas, less cognizant of modern progress, than any other part of the English-speaking world.

Of course, such an anomaly cannot continue. Commercialism has discovered the mountains at last, and no sentiment, however honest, however hallowed, can keep it out. The transformation is swift. Suddenly the mountaineer is awakened from his eighteenth-century bed by the blare of steam whistles and the boom of dynamite. He sees his forests leveled and whisked away; his rivers dammed by concrete walls and shot into turbines that outpower all the horses in Appalachia. He is dazed by electric lights, nonplussed by speaking wires, awed by vast transfers of property, incensed by rude demands. Aroused, now, and wide-eyed, he realizes with sinking heart that here is a sudden end of that Old Dispensation under which he and his ancestors were born, the beginning of a New Order that heeds him and his neighbors not a whit.

All this insults his conservatism. The old way was the established order of the universe: to change it is fairly impious. What is the good of all this fuss and fury? That fifty-story building they tell about, in their big city—what is it but another Tower of Babel? And these silly, stuck-up strangers who brag and brag about “modern improvements”—what are they, under their fine manners and fine clothes? Hirelings all. Shrewdly he observes them in their relations to each other.—

“Each man is some man’s servant; every soul
Is by some other’s presence quite discrowned.”

Proudly he contrasts his ragged self: he who never has acknowledged a superior, never has taken an order from living man, save as a patriot in time of war. And he turns upon his heel.

Yet, before he can fairly credit it as a reality, the lands around his own home are bought up by corporations. All about him, slash, crash, go the devastating forces. His old neighbors vanish. New and unwelcome ones swarm in. He is crowded, but ignored. His hard-earned patrimony is robbed of all that made it precious: its home-like seclusion, independence, dignity. He sells out, and moves away to some uninvaded place where he “will not be bothered.”

“I don’t like these improvements,” said an old mountaineer to

me. "Some calls them 'progress,' and says they put money to circulatin'. So they do; but *who gits it?*"

There is a class of highlanders more sanguine, more adaptable, that welcomes all outsiders who come with skill and capital to develop their country. Many of these are shrewd traders in merchandise or in real estate, or they are capable foremen who can handle native labor much better than any strangers could. Such men naturally profit by the change.

Others, deluded by what seems easy money, sell their little homesteads for just enough cash to set them up as laborers in town or camp. Being untrained to any trade, they can get only the lowest wages, which are quickly dissipated in rent and in foods that formerly they raised for themselves. Unused to continuous labor, they irk under its discipline, drop out, and fall into desultory habits. Meantime false ambitions arise, especially among the womenfolk. Store credit soon runs such a family in debt.

"When I was a young man," said one of the neighbors, "the traders never thought of bringin' meal in here. If a man run out of meal, why, he was *out*, and he had to live on 'taters or somethin' else. Nowadays we dress better, and live better, but some other feller allers has his hands in our pockets."

Then it is "good-by" to the old independence that made such characters manly. Enmeshed in obligations that they cannot meet, they struggle vainly, brood hopelessly, and lose that dearest of all possessions, their self-respect. Servility is literal hell to a mountaineer, and when it is forced upon him he turns into a mean, underhanded, slinking fellow, easily tempted into crime.

The curse of our invading civilization is that its vanguard is composed of men who care nothing for the welfare of the people they dispossess. A northern lumberman admitted to me, with frankness unusual in his class, that "All we want here is to get the most we can out of this country, as quick as we can, and then get out." This is all we can expect of those who exploit raw materials, or of manufactures that employ only cheap labor. Until we have industries that demand skilled workmen, and until manual training schools are established in the mountains, we may look for deterioration, rather than betterment, of those highlanders who leave their farms.

All who know the mountaineers intimately have observed that the sudden inroad of commercialism has a bad effect upon

them. As President Frost says, "Ruthless change is knocking at the door of every mountain cabin. The jackals of civilization have already abused the confidence of many a highland home. The lumber, coal, and mineral wealth of the mountains is to be possessed, and the unprincipled vanguard of commercialism can easily debauch a simple people. The question is whether the mountain people can be enlightened and guided so that they can have a part in the development of their own country, or whether they must give place to foreigners and melt away like so many Indians."

It is easy to say that the fittest will survive. But the fittest for what? Miss Miles answers: "I have heard it said that civilization, when it touches the people of the backwoods, acts as a useful precipitant in thus sending the dregs to the bottom. As a matter of fact, it is only the shrewder and more determined, not the truly fit, that survive the struggle. Among these very submerged ones, reduced to dependence on an alien people, there are thousands who inherit the skill of their forefathers who fashioned their own locks, musical instruments, and guns. And these very women who are breaking their health and spirit over a thankless tub of suds ought surely to turn their talents to better account, ought to be designing and weaving coverlets and Roman-striped rugs, or 'piecing' the quilt patterns now so popular. Need these razors be used to cut grindstones? Must this free folk who are in many ways the truest Americans of America be brought under the yoke of caste division, to the degradation of all their finer qualities, merely for lack of the right work to do?"

"People who have been among the southern mountaineers testify," says Mr. Fox, "that, as a race, they are proud, sensitive, hospitable, kindly, obliging in an unreckoning way that is almost pathetic, honest, loyal, in spite of their common ignorance, poverty, and isolation; that they are naturally capable, eager to learn, easy to uplift. Americans to the core, they make the southern mountains a storehouse of patriotism; in themselves they are an important offset to the Old World outcasts whom we have welcomed to our shores; and they surely deserve as much consideration from the nation as the negroes, or as the heathen, to whom we give millions."

President Frost, of Berea College, who has worked among these people for nearly a lifetime, and has helped to educate

their young folks by thousands, says: "It does one's heart good to help a young Lincoln who comes walking in perhaps a three-days' journey on foot, with a few hard-earned dollars in his pocket and a great eagerness for the education he can so faintly comprehend. (Scores of our young people see their first railroad train at Berea.) And it is a joy to welcome the mountain girl who comes back after having taught her first school, bringing the money to pay her debts and buy her first comfortable outfit—including rubbers and suitable underclothing—and perhaps bringing with her a younger sister. Such a girl exerts a great influence in her school and mountain home. An enthusiastic mountaineer described an example in this wise: 'I tell yeou hit teks a moughty *resolute* gal ter do what that thar gal has done. She got, I reckon, about the toughest deestric' in the ceounty, which is sayin' a good deal. An' then fer boardin-place—well, there warn't much choice. There was one house, with one room. But she kep right on, an' yeou would hev thought she was havin' the finest kind of a time, ter look at her. An' then the last day, when they was sayin' their pieces and sich, some sorry fellers come in thar full o' moonshine an' shot their revolvers. I'm a-tellin' ye hit takes a moughty *resolute* gal.'

The great need of our mountaineers to-day is trained leaders of their own. The future of Appalachia lies mostly in the hands of those resolute native boys and girls who win the education fitting them for such leadership. Here is where the nation at large is summoned by a solemn duty. And it should act quickly, because commercialism exploits and debauches quickly. But the schools needed here are not ordinary graded schools. They should be vocational schools that will turn out good farmers, good mechanics, good housewives. Meantime let a model farm be established in every mountain county showing how to get the most out of mountain land. Such object lessons would speedily work an economic revolution. It is an economic problem, fundamentally, that the mountaineer has to face.

Our Southern Highlanders, pp. 378-395. New York. Outing Publishing Co., 1913.

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS.

STUDENT, EDITOR, RACE EDUCATOR, LEADER

There were half a million slaves in the confines of the United States when the Declaration of Independence declared "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The land that thus magniloquently heralded its advent into the family of nations had supported the institution of slavery for one hundred and fifty-seven years and was destined to cling to it eighty-seven years longer.

The greatest experiment in Negro slavery as a modern industrial system was made on the mainland of North America and in the confines of the present United States. And this experiment was on such a scale and so long-continued that it is profitable for study and reflection.

The importation of Negroes to the mainland of North America was small until the British got the coveted privilege of the Asiento in 1713. Before that Northern States like New York had received some slaves from the Dutch, and New England had early developed a trade by which she imported a number of house servants. Ships went out to the African coast with rum, sold the rum and brought the slaves to the West Indies; there they exchanged the slaves for sugar and molasses and brought the molasses back to New England, to be made into rum for further exploits. After the Asiento treaty the Negro population increased in the eighteenth century from about 50,000 in 1710 to 220,000 in 1750 and to 462,000 in 1770. When the colonies became independent, the foreign slave trade was soon made illegal; but illicit trade, annexation of territory and natural increase enlarged the Negro population from a little over a million at the beginning of the nineteenth century to four and a half millions at the outbreak of the Civil War and to about ten and a quarter millions in 1914.

The present so-called Negro population of the United States is:

1. A mixture of the various African populations, Bantu,

Sudanese, west-coast Negroes, some dwarfs, and some traces of Arab, Berber, and Semitic blood.

2. A mixture of these strains with the blood of white Americans through a system of concubinage of colored women in slavery days, together with some legal intermarriage.

The figures as to mulattoes have been from time to time officially acknowledged to be understatements. Probably one-third of the Negroes of the United States have distinct traces of white blood. This blending of the races has led to interesting human types, but racial prejudice has hitherto prevented any scientific study of the matter. In general the Negro population in the United States is brown in color, darkening to almost black and shading off in other directions to yellow and white, and is indistinguishable in some cases from the white population.

The transplanting of the Negro from his African clan life to the West Indian plantation was a social revolution. Marriage became geographical and transient, while women and girls were without protection.

The private home as a self-protective, independent unit did not exist. That powerful institution, the polygamous African home, was almost completely destroyed, and in its place in America arose sexual promiscuity, a weak community life, with common dwelling, meals, and child nurseries. The internal slave trade tended further to weaken natural ties. A small number of favored house servants and artisans were-raised above this—had their private homes, came in contact with the culture of the master class, and assimilated much of American civilization. This was, however, exceptional; broadly speaking, the greatest social effect of American slavery was to substitute for the polygamous Negro home a new polygamy less guarded, less effective, and less civilized.

At first sight it would seem that slavery completely destroyed every vestige of spontaneous movement among the Negroes. This is not strictly true. The vast power of the priest in the African state is well known; his realm alone—the province of religion and medicine—remained largely unaffected by the plantation system. The Negro priest, therefore, early became an important figure on the plantation and found his function as the interpreter of the supernatural, the comforter of the sorrowing, and as the one who expressed, rudely but picturesquely, the longing and disappointment and resentment of a stolen people.

From such beginnings arose and spread with marvelous rapidity the Negro church, the first distinctively Negro American social institution. It was not at first by any means a Christian church, but a mere adaptation of those rites of fetish which in America is termed obe worship or "voodooism." Association and missionary effort soon gave these rites a veneer of Christianity and gradually, after two centuries, the church became Christian, with a simple Calvinistic creed, but with many of the old customs still clinging to the services. It is this historic fact, that the Negro church of today bases itself upon the sole surviving social institution of the African fatherland, that accounts for its extraordinary growth and vitality.

Up through this American feudalism the Negro began to rise. He learned in the eighteenth century the English language, he began to be identified with the Christian church, he mingled his blood to a considerable extent with the master class. The house servants particularly were favored, in some cases receiving education, and the number of free Negroes gradually increased.

Present-day students are often puzzled at the apparent contradiction of Southern slavery. One hears, on the one hand, of the staid and gentle patriarchy, the wide and sleepy plantations with lord and retainers, ease and happiness; on the other hand one hears of barbarous cruelty and unbridled power and wide oppression of men. Which is the true picture? The answer is simple: both are true. They are not opposite sides of the same shield; they are different shields. They are pictures, on the one hand, of house service in the great country seats and in the towns, and on the other hand of the field laborers who raised the great tobacco, rice, and cotton crops. We have thus not carelessly mixed pictures of what were really different kinds of slavery, but of that which represented different degrees in the development of the economic system. House service was the older feudal idea of personal retainership, developed in Virginia and Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It had all the advantages and disadvantages of such a system; the advantage of strong personal tie and the disadvantage of unyielding caste distinctions, with the resultant immoralities. At its worst, however, it was a matter primarily of human relationships.

Out of this older type of slavery in the northern South there developed, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the southern South the type of slavery which corresponds to the

modern factory system in its worst conceivable form. It represented production of a staple product on a large scale; between the owner and laborer were interposed the overseer and the drivers. The slaves were whipped and driven to a mechanical task system. Wide territory was needed, so that at last absentee landlordship was common. It was this latter type of slavery that marked the cotton kingdom, and the extension of the area of this system southward and westward marked the aggressive world—conquering visions of the slave barons. On the other hand it was the milder and far different Virginia house service and the personal retainership of town life in which most white children grew up; it was this which impressed their imaginations and which they have so vividly portrayed. The Negroes, however, knew the other side, for it was under the harsher, heartless driving of the fields that fully nine-tenths of them lived.

There early began to be some internal development and growth of self-consciousness among the Negroes: for instance, in New England towns Negro "governors" were elected. Negroes voted in those days for instance, in North Carolina until 1835 the Constitution extended the franchise to every freeman, and when Negroes were disfranchised in 1835, several hundred colored men were deprived of the vote. In fact, as Albert Bushnell Hart says, "In the colonies freed Negroes, like freed indentured white servants, acquired property, founded families, and came into the political community if they had the energy, thrift, and fortune to get the necessary property."

Beneficial and insurance societies began to appear among colored people. Nearly every town of any size in Virginia in the early eighteenth century had Negro organizations for caring for the sick and burying the dead. As the number of free negroes increased, particularly in the North, these financial societies began to be openly formed. One of the earliest was the Free African Society of Philadelphia. This eventually became the present African Methodist Church, which has today half a million members and over eleven million dollars' worth of property.

Negroes began to be received into the white church bodies in separate congregations, and before 1807 there is the record of the formation of eight such Negro churches. This brought forth leaders who were, usually, preachers in these churches. Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Church,

was one; Lot Carey, one of the founders of Liberia, was another. In the South, there was John Chavis, who passed through a regular course of studies at what is now Washington and Lee University. He started a school for young white men in North Carolina and had among his pupils a United States senator, sons of a chief justice of North Carolina, a governor of the state, and many others. He was a full-blooded Negro, but a Southern writer says that "all accounts agree that John Chavis was a gentleman. He was received socially among the best whites and asked to table."

In the war of 1812 thirty-three hundred Negroes helped Jackson win the battle of New Orleans, and numbers fought in New York State and in the navy under Perry, Channing, and others. Phyllis Wheatley, a Negro girl, wrote poetry, and the mulatto, Benjamin Banneker, published one of the first American series of almanacs.

In 1890, the South was faced by this question: Are we willing to allow the Negro to advance as a free worker, peasant farmer, metayer, and small capitalist, with only such handicaps as naturally impede the poor and ignorant, or is it necessary to erect further artificial barriers to restrain the advance of the Negroes? The answer was clear and unmistakable. The advance of the freedmen had been too rapid and the South feared it; every effort must be made "to keep the Negro in his place" as a servile caste.

To this end the South strove to make the disfranchisement of the Negroes effective and final. Up to this time disfranchisement was illegal and based on intimidation. The new laws passed between 1890 and 1910 sought on their face to base the right to vote on property and education in such a way as to exclude poor and illiterate Negroes and admit all whites. In fact they could be administered so as to exclude nearly all Negroes. To this was added a series of laws designed publicly to humiliate and stigmatize Negro blood: as, for example, separate railway cars; separate seats in street cars, and the like; these things were added to the separation in schools and churches, and the denial of redress to seduced colored women, which had long been the custom in the South. All these new enactments meant not simply separation, but subordination, caste, humiliation, and flagrant injustice. To all this was added a series of labor laws making the exploitation of Negro labor more secure.

The reaction of the Negro Americans upon this wholesale and open attempt to reduce them to serfdom has been interesting. Naturally they began to organize and protest and in some cases to appeal to the courts. Then, to their astonishment there arose a colored leader, Mr. Booker T. Washington, who advised them to yield to disfranchisement and caste and wait for greater economic strength and general efficiency before demanding full rights as American citizens. The white South naturally agreed with Mr. Washington, and the white North thought they saw here a chance for peace in the racial conflict and safety for their Southern investments.

For a time the colored people hesitated. They respected Mr. Washington for shrewdness and recognized the wisdom of his homely insistence on thrift and hard work; but gradually they came to see more and more clearly that, stripped of political power and emasculated by caste, they could never gain sufficient economic strength to take their place as modern men. They also realized that any lull in their protests would be taken advantage of by Negro haters to push their caste program. They began, therefore, with renewed persistence to fight for their fundamental rights as American citizens. The struggle tended at first to bitter personal dissension within the group. But wiser counsels and the advice of white friends eventually prevailed and raised it to the broad level of a fight for the fundamental principles of democracy. The launching of the "Niagara Movement" by twenty-nine daring colored men in 1905, followed by the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, marked an epoch in the advance of the Negro. This latter organization, with its monthly organ, *The Crisis*, is now waging a nation-wide fight for justice to Negroes. Other organizations, and a number of strong Negro weekly papers, are aiding in the fight. What has been the net result of this struggle of half a century?

In 1863 there were about five million persons of Negro descent in the United States. Of these, four million and more were just being released from slavery. These slaves could be bought and sold, could move from place to place only with permission, were forbidden to learn to read or write, and legally could never hold property or marry. Ninety per cent were totally illiterate, and only one adult in six was a nominal Christian.

Fifty years later, in 1913, there were in the United States ten

and a quarter million persons of Negro descent, an increase of one hundred and five per cent. Legal slavery has been abolished, leaving however, vestiges in debt slavery, peonage, and the convict lease system. The mass of the freedmen and their sons have

1. Earned a living as free and partially free laborers.
2. Shared the responsibilities of government.
3. Developed the internal organization of their race.
4. Aspired to spiritual self-expression.

The Negro was freed as a penniless, landless, naked, ignorant laborer. There were a few free Negroes who owned property in the South, and a larger number who owned property in the North; but ninety-nine per cent of the race in the South were penniless field hands and servants.

To-day there are two and a half million laborers, the majority of whom are efficient wage earners. Above these are more than a million servants and tenant farmers; skilled and semi-skilled workers make another million and at the top of the economic column are 600,000 owners and managers of farms and businesses, cash tenants, officials, and professional men. This makes a total of 5,192,535 colored bread-winners in 1910.

More specifically these breadwinners include 218,972 farm owners and 319,346 cash farm tenants and managers. There were in all 62,755 miners, 288,141 in the building and hand trades; 28,515 workers in clay, glass and stone; 41,739 iron and steel workers; 134,102 employees on railways; 62,822 draymen, cab drivers, and liverymen; 133,245 in wholesale and retail trade; 32,170 in the public service, including 29,750 teachers, 17,495 clergymen, and 4,546 physicians, dentists, trained nurses, etc. Finally we must not forget 2,175,000 Negro homes, with their housewives, and 1,620,000 children in school.

Fifty years ago the overwhelming mass of these people were not only penniless, but were themselves assessed as real estate. By 1875 the Negroes probably had gotten hold of something between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 acres of land through their bounties as soldiers and the low price of land after the war. By 1880 this was increased to about 6,000,000 acres; in 1890 to about 8,000,000 acres; in 1900 to over 12,000,000 acres. In 1910 this land had increased to nearly 20,000,000, a realm as large as Ireland.

The 120,738 farms owned by Negroes in 1890 increased to 218,972 in 1910, or eighty-one per cent. The value of these farms increased from \$179,796,639 in 1900 to \$440,992,439 in 1910; Ne-

groes owned in 1910 about 500,000 homes out of a total of 2,175,000. Their total property in 1900 was estimated at \$300,000,000 by the American Economic Association. On the same basis of calculation it would be worth to-day not less than 800,000,000 dollars.

Despite the disfranchisement of three-fourths of his voting population, the Negro to-day is a recognized part of the American government. He holds 7,500 offices in the executive service of the nation, besides furnishing four regiments in the army and a large number of sailors. In the state and municipal service he holds nearly 20,000 other offices, and he furnishes 500,000 of the votes which rule the Union.

In these same years the Negro has relearned the lost art of organization. Slavery was the almost absolute denial of initiative and responsibility. To-day Negroes have nearly 40,000 churches, with edifices worth at least \$75,000,000 and controlling nearly 4,000,000 members. They raise themselves \$7,500,000 a year for these churches.

There are 200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes, and these and other public and private schools have received in 40 years \$45,000,000 of Negro money in taxes and donations. Five millions a year are raised by Negro secret and beneficial societies which hold at least \$6,000,000 in real estate. Negroes support wholly or in part over one hundred old folks' homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals, and 500 cemeteries. Their organized commercial life is extending rapidly and includes over 22,000 small retail businesses and 40 banks.

Above and beyond this material growth has gone the spiritual uplift of a great human race. From contempt and amusement they have passed to the pity, perplexity, and fear on the part of their neighbors, while within their own souls they have arisen from apathy and timid complaint to open protest and more and more manly self-assertion. Where nine-tenths of them could not read or write in 1860, to-day over two-thirds can; they have 300 papers and periodicals, and their voice and expression are compelling attention.

Already in poetry, literature, music, and painting the work of Americans of Negro descent has gained notable recognition. Instead of being led and defended by others, as in the past, American Negroes are gaining their own leaders, their own

voices, their own ideals. Self-realization is thus coming slowly but surely to another of the world's great races, and they are today girding themselves to fight in the van of progress, not simply for their own rights as men, but for the ideals of the greater world in which they live: the emancipation of women, universal peace, democratic government, the socialization of wealth, and human brotherhood.

The Negro. Holt. 1915. Parts of chapter xi. The Negro in the United States, pp. 183-231.

AMERICANIZING THE RURAL NEGRO

BOOKER TALIAFERRO WASHINGTON, 1859-1915

PIONEER NEGRO EDUCATOR, PRINCIPAL, TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA.

The first rural Negro communities were started in slavery times. They were established by free Negroes, who emigrated from the South, in order to escape the hardships of the "Black Laws" which, particularly in the latter days of slavery, bore with unusual severity upon the class known as "free persons of color." The establishment of the American colony of Liberia, Africa, was a result of this desire on the part of free colored people to find a place where they might escape some of the indirect burdens of slavery. Liberia, however, merely represented a widespread movement among Negroes, who had escaped slavery, to establish homes and communities of their own, not only in Africa but wherever freedom was assured them.

For a number of years before emancipation little colonies of free Negroes were established in several parts of Canada, and in states of the Middle West, especially Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the region which, by the Ordinance of 1787, was dedicated forever to freedom. There were colonies of free Negroes established at this time in several other states—New Jersey and Michigan, for example. After the Civil War was over and Negroes were granted the same rights and the same freedom as other citizens these little rural communities tended to break up and disperse, but the remnants of them still exist in many parts of the country.

The Negro rural communities which have grown up since

emancipation have had other and different motives for their existence. They have generally sprung up as a result of the efforts of Negro farmers to become landowners.

For the first twenty years of freedom there was no great disposition, so far as I can learn, on the part of Negro farmers to become landowners. During this period the Negro people and particularly the Negro leaders, were absorbed either in politics or in religion, and constructive efforts of the race were chiefly absorbed in organizing their religious life and building churches.

After the masses of the Negroes lost the influence in politics, which they had exercised directly after the war, there was a period of some years of great discouragement. Gradually, however, it began to dawn upon the more thoughtful members of the race that there was hope for them in other directions.

They found, for example, that in communities where there was very little encouragement for a Negro to vote there was nothing which prevented him from owning property. They learned, also, that where their white neighbors were opposed to a Negro postmaster they had not the slightest objection to a Negro banker. The result was that the leaders of the race began to turn their attention to business enterprises, while the masses of the people were learning to save their money and buy land.

The first Negro bank was established in the latter part of the eighties. At the present time there are something over sixty Negro banks in different parts of the United States. In the meantime the Negro farmers, particularly in recent years, have been getting hold of the land on which they work. There are, for example, at least three counties in the South in each of which Negroes own and pay taxes on something like fifty or sixty thousand acres. In Louisa County, Virginia, Negroes own 53,268 acres; in Liberty County, Georgia, they own 55,048 and in Macon County, Alabama, Negroes pay taxes on 61,689 acres of land.

The first rural Negro communities that were established after the war grew up almost invariably around a little country church. The church was at this time the center around which everything revolved. It was in fact the only distinctively Negro institution that existed. It was in the church or, perhaps, in the grove surrounding it, that the political meetings were held in the days when the masses of the people were still engaged in politics. After politics had ceased, to some extent, to be a live interest

the church still remained the center of the intellectual, as well as of the religious life of the people.

In more recent years, in many parts of the country, the school has, to a large extent, taken the place of the church as the center of life in the rural districts. In the early years of freedom the place of every individual was fixed in the community by the fact that he supported either the Baptist or the Methodist denomination. At present, however, the management and welfare of the school occupies, in many parts of the country at least, as large a part of the interest and attention of the community as the church.

In many cases the people have united to tax themselves, in order to build schoolhouses and to lengthen the school terms. Most of the efforts made by outside agencies, like the Anna F. Jeanes Fund, to improve the rural public schools have been directed to bringing the work of the school into closer relations with the practical interests of the rural communities.

Although in the Southern States the school officials are invariably white men, the Negro communities frequently elect trustees of their own. These colored trustees have no legal standing, but the conduct of the school is very largely in their hands and in the hands of the "patrons," that is to say those individuals in the community who contribute something to the support of the schools.

On the whole, I believe that the control which, in this indirect way, Negroes have come to exercise over their own schools has had a good influence not only on the people, but also upon the schools. It has introduced a new interest into the life of the community. There is more to do and to think about than there used to be, and I believe I can safely say that there is a greater disposition among the people, in spite of the attraction of the city, to settle down upon the land and make themselves at home in the country districts.

As soon as a certain number of these schools were established advertisements were inserted in the colored newspapers throughout the South advertising the fact that land could be purchased in small tracts near an eight months' school. Very soon the advertisements began to attract attention. Colored farmers began to move in from the adjoining counties. Many of them came to obtain the advantages of a good country school for their children. Others came not merely for this purpose but to buy land.

The effect was to bring in a more enterprising class of Negro farmers and to increase the price of land.

Meanwhile a little farmers' newspaper, *The Messenger*, as it was called, had been started for the purpose of organizing the county, stirring up interest in the improvement of the schools and stimulating the efforts of the farmers to improve their methods of farming. The preachers and teachers of the county organized an association for the purpose of pushing forward the movement. Demonstration plots were established in the neighborhood of the schools and, under the direction of the United States Demonstration Agent, the teachers began teaching farming in the schools. The preachers encouraged the movement from the pulpit and *The Messenger*, the farmers' newspaper I have referred to, made an effort to report every step that was taken, in any part of the county, looking to the education and general improvement of the people.

Through this paper the farmers of the county were brought into closer touch with the work of the Institute and the influence of the school upon the community was strengthened and deepened. In fact, it would not be far from the truth to say that the Negro communities in Macon County have made more progress during the last five years than they did during the previous twenty-five.

The work which was attempted on a small scale in Macon County, Alabama, has been undertaken in a larger way in Virginia where the state has created a state supervisor or superintendent of Negro schools, whose task has been to co-operate with and to encourage and direct the Negro people of the state in their efforts to improve the conditions of the rural schools. More than this, under the leadership of Major R. R. Moton of Hampton, what is called an "organization society" has been formed for the purpose of bringing about co-operation between the various Negro organizations of the state, religious and secular, to improve the school system and bring the work of the schools into closer touch with the life and practical daily interests of the people.

The Rural Negro Community. Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science. 40:81-9. March '12.

SIGNS OF GROWING COÖPERATION

ROBERT R. MOTON,

PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEEGEE INSTITUTE, FORMERLY COMMANDANT,
HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

In a meeting held recently in Virginia an old colored preacher in opening the service prayed thus:—"O God of all races, will you please, Sir, come in and take charge of de min's of all dese yere white people and fix dem so dat dey'll know an' understan' dat all of we color'd folks is not lazy, dirty, dishones' an' no 'count, an' help dem, Lord, to see dat most of us is prayin', workin' and strivin' to get some land, some houses and some ed'cation for ourselves an' our chilun, an' get true 'ligion, an' dat most every Negro in Northampton County is doin' his lebel bes' to make frien's and get along wid de white folks. Help dese yere white folks, O Lord, to understan' dis thing. Lord, while You is takin' charge of de min's of dese white people don't pass by de color'd folks for dey is not perfec'—dey needs You as de white folks do. Open de Negro's blin' eyes dat he may see dat all of de white folks are not mean an' dishonest an' prejudice' against de color'd folks; dat dere is hones', hard-workin', jus' and God-fearin' white folks in dis yere community who are tryin' the bes' dey know how, wid de cir'umstances against dem, to be fair in dere dealin's wid de color'd folks, and help dem to be 'spectable men an' women. Help us, Lord, black and white to understan' each other more eve'y day."

The prayer of this old colored man expresses in a crude, but effective fashion the feeling and desires of the best Negroes and the best white people of the South. The sentiment of this prayer is becoming more and more universal, and it is actuating as never before the best thought and the highest aspirations of our Southern people. This, then, is the first fundamental sign of growing coöperation in our South. One who is reasonably familiar with Southern conditions cannot but see on every hand unmistakable evidences that the two races are growing more and more to understand and sympathize with each other in the common life which they now lead and must of necessity continue to lead.

It is comparatively easy for a person to become discouraged regarding the situation, especially if he is governed by the reports which he sees in the average daily paper. There seems to be a

popular desire, on the part of press dispatches, to emphasize the unsavory side of Negro life.

How often one sees in a paper—front page, first column, in glaring headlines a report of some crime alleged to have been committed by a black man; whereas, in the very same paper on the last page and often in a most insignificant place on that page with very modest headlines, one finds a report of a white man charged with the same sort of crime! If there is a misunderstanding between black and white people in any community, often in cases where there are less than a half dozen in the disturbance, the papers will report a *race riot* and give the impression that practically all the Negroes and white people in the community are up in arms against each other.

This sort of propaganda which has been indulged in for several decades and with increasing exaggeration cannot but prejudice many people of both races against the Negro and cause the casual observer to wonder after all if it is possible for the black and white races, whom God in His infinite wisdom and goodness has seen fit in His own way to place side by side in large numbers on Southern soil, to live helpfully and harmoniously together. But there is no real reason for discouragement because this is more or less superficial and far from the actual facts of the situation, for with a sober second thought there comes to mind the rank and file of the Negro race—the law-abiding citizens who keep out of court, out of the papers, and the earnest, thoughtful growing numbers who are working side by side with the best white people for the Solution of the race problem.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Immediately after the War there was naturally a certain sort of paternal relation that existed between the white man and the Negro, but this was rather of a patronizing sort. This relationship exists even now to some extent, but such a relationship cannot long continue. There must come a different and a more lasting, and in the long-run, a more wholesome relationship. The younger generations of the white and black races have now come to the stage of action. Their dealings are less cordial and less patronizing, but are more cold and business-like. The Negro stands on his manhood. Few favors are asked except such as may be reduced to a basis of dollars and cents.

There was developed during the days of slavery a spirit of suspicion on the part of the Negro against white people which the Reconstruction Period did not by any manner of means lessen and which has hampered the Negro, perhaps, more than it has the white man. This the Negro is rapidly out-living and that, too, is encouraging. Notwithstanding all that has been said against the Negro from the press and platform, the real situation was never more hopeful and encouraging than it is at present. Even the casual observer must see that there is growing a spirit of real coöperation and sympathy between the races, and that never before has there been a more earnest and sincere effort on the part of both races for mutual help and coöperation. There is a growing and genuinely honest disposition on the part of the Negro everywhere to seek the advice as well as the assistance and coöperation of white people in every movement for the common good of the Negroes in almost every community. There is an increasingly strong feeling on the part of the Negro laborers and mechanics for unity and coöperation with similar groups of white artisans, and the white unions are seeing more and more the necessity for a closer union of the various labor operations, and this feeling will continue to grow as men become better trained, better educated and better Christians.

EDUCATIONAL COÖPERATION

In educational matters there is a growing sympathy and spirit of coöperation between whites and blacks as never before. The Negro is calling on school officials for a fair and equitable distribution of school funds. They are asking for better schools, longer terms, better pay for teachers, and better equipment: in many cases the Negroes, out of their own earnings, are buying land for the school and often putting up the school houses, sometimes supplementing the pay of the teacher, this generally being done with the advice and approval of the local school officials, who are responding with a more liberal appropriation for school purposes such as was never before witnessed.

Hampton Institute through its Principal, Dr. Frissell and its Trustees, notably the late Robert C. Ogden and through the institutions that have grown out of Hampton, has done more than perhaps any other single institution in making possible the sort of coöperation that counts for most in the development of the two races here in the South. Hampton Institute more than any

other institution, through its Trustees, Principal and graduates, has established a platform upon which Northern men, Southern men, black men and white men can work together for the good of humanity and the glory of God. More phases of life, more creeds and colors are constantly meeting at Hampton for the discussion of vital questions and inspiration for greater work than in any other place, perhaps, in America.

Dr. Booker T. Washington has done more than any single man to bring the colored people to realize the wisdom and absolute necessity of calling on the white people for advice and aid, and I need not say that the response in most cases has been most helpful and gratifying, and this attitude on the part of colored people has encouraged the white people to take more interest in what is going on among colored people in almost every line of endeavor.

We all know of the work of the Jeanes Board through which Dr. James H. Dillard has accomplished such splendid service for God and humanity, and all know also of the State Superintendents of the rural schools of whom Mr. Jackson Davis was the pioneer. These two agencies are linking not only the common rural schools in the communities in which they work but are doing what is more important—they are linking the two races together on the ground of common brotherhood, common needs and common sympathy, in the cities as well as in the country. Here is a great forward movement toward the coöperation of the races. In Savannah, for example, organizations like the National Negro Business League are coöperating with the white people for a greater and better city. The same is true in Nashville as well as here in Atlanta and in other Southern cities.

DR. WASHINGTON'S TRIPS IN THE SOUTH

Dr. Washington, usually under the auspices of the National Negro Business League with other prominent colored men, has gone on what he calls "Educational Tours" through almost all of the Southern States where thousands of people, white and black, have gathered. These thousands have gotten from the distinguished Negro leader, frank, yet sane, advice as to the best methods of real coöperation and a more helpful relationship. These addresses have had as cordial a response from white as from black people. It would be difficult to estimate the value of such

trips in cementing more cordial sympathetic feeling between the two races in these States.

UNIVERSITY RACE COMMISSION

The unstinted thanks of the Negro of the South are due Dr. James H. Dillard who brought into being, at the right time, the University Commission on Race Questions, a Commission composed of representatives of all the Southern State universities—men who without sentiment, are getting at the real facts regarding the Negro, with a view to helping not merely the Negro but the South and Nation as well. The Negro is perfectly willing to be judged on his merits by unbiased men, especially when they have before them the actual facts.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS AT MEMPHIS

Some of us attended in Memphis what was in some ways the most remarkable gathering I have ever witnessed. This was the third annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress. There came together a large body of Southern men representing all phases of Southern life, and an equally as interesting and representative body of Negroes. These men expressed frankly, dispassionately and kindly their views on the race situation, offering sane, helpful suggestions as to adequate remedies. Is it not a hopeful sign when black men and white men can thus counsel together on common problems?

COÖPERATION OF WOMEN

Our Negro women have shown consummate wisdom and tact in securing the coöperation and help of the leading white women in their civic movements. The Women's Civic League of Baltimore was led by Mrs. S. C. Fernandias, and all of our Virginia movements have been and are headed by the most prominent and aristocratic white women. And here in Atlanta, Mrs. John Hope could not have accomplished what she has so successfully achieved had she not secured the help and coöperation of the white women.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

The fact that the Negroes are themselves becoming better and more perfectly organized and are willing to accept the advice and leadership of their own race for racial betterment and civic im-

provement makes it all the more easy for the leaders of these organizations to throw the weight of their influence on the side of sane coöperation with the best element of our Southern white people. Few private schools are started in any community but the Negroes always ask certain of the leading white people to become members of the Board of Trustees. If they do not wish to make them real trustees, which means owners of the property, they will devise some kind of an advisory Board so as to link white people to the movement and thus secure their advice and counsel, and finally their assistance and often their influence with the County School officials.

BUSINESS COÖPERATION

There are in the South to-day about seventy Negro banks owned, controlled and operated by Negroes, also numerous Building & Loan Associations. The Presidents or Cashiers of the white banks not only have given advice to their Negro competitors as to the methods of banking, but have opened up their first set of books and started them off and in many places over-looked their methods and work until the Negro banks could get on their feet. Only recently a Negro bank in the City of Richmond came near having a "run" on it because of some erroneous report that was circulated in the community to the effect that the bank was in trouble, and several of the leading white banking institutions, through their Presidents, told the Negro bank to pay all claims promptly, and that they would furnish the necessary money if it did not have the available cash. These banks knew that the Negro bank was absolutely safe and solid and they had absolute faith in the honesty and integrity of its black President. In almost every community the Negro and white business men are on terms of harmony and coöperation; loaning and borrowing and buying and crediting as if both were white or both were black. This spirit of business coöperation must and certainly will continue to grow.

HEALTH

It is perhaps along lines of health and sanitation that one finds the heartiest coöperation between the white and colored people. The Negroes have seen the possibility of a stronger and a more appealing plea to the white people for help and coöperation along lines of sanitation and hygiene than perhaps along any other line

of racial activity. It is quite as important for the white people that the Negroes should be clean and healthful, physically, mentally and morally as it is for colored people, and the white people see and understand this and are willing and glad to lend assistance and coöperation as perhaps in no other movement. Disease is common to all and though germinated in the Negro cabin, is very apt to find its way to the white mansion. Disease like vice and crime knows no color line. As a result of the very important meeting recently held in the City of New Orleans to start a health campaign throughout the South, the white people are urging the Negroes to enter into this movement and have met with very general response from colored people.

NEGRO ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

There grew out of our Hampton Negro Conference a movement which we have called the Negro Organization Society of Virginia. This movement has for its object the federation of all existing organizations in the State of Virginia of whatever kind or character, whether religious, benevolent or secret societies, social or business conventions, farmers' conferences and whatnot, for the common purpose of general improvement of conditions among Negroes throughout the Old Dominion. Its motto is, "Better Schools, Better Health, Better Homes, Better Farms" among colored people. The Negro Organization Society seems to have about federated all of these organizations, for never in the history of the race has any movement taken hold of the various phases of Negro activity as this movement has done, and though the movement is only about three years old, it has inspired the erection of some twenty-five graded schools in the State, to say nothing about improving the equipment and surroundings of two scores more.

CLEAN-UP DAY

We have just closed, on the 2nd of this month, what we call in Virginia a Clean-up Week. A year ago we had a Clean-up Day, but we made it a Clean-up Week this year for the reason that it was not convenient in many localities in the State, because of storms, etc., to clean up on the day appointed, so we took a week. We asked the State Board, as well as the County Boards for their coöperation and their help. We prepared a special bul-

letin giving instructions in simple language that could be easily understood by colored people as to the best methods of preserving their health, etc., which we called the "Negro Health Hand-book." The State Board of Health published almost as we gave it to them, at no expense to the Organization Society, about thirty thousand of these books which were put into the hands of the school teachers and preachers as well as Negro leaders throughout the State, and special sermons, health talks and lectures were delivered throughtout the State of Virginia. We asked the white people, who employed colored people, to excuse and encourage as far as possible their employees to clean up their premises, and while we have not the facts for the present year, we know that 130,000 people last year devoted the day to general cleaning on their premises and disposing of rubbish, white-washing their houses, outhouses and fences, and destroying breeding places for flies and mosquitoes. Perhaps the most significant thing accomplished in this health movement is that we got absolutely the coöperation and the backing of the leading papers and leading white people of Virginia. The new Hand-book has just been published, forty thousand copies of which have been distributed with results even more far-reaching than a year ago.

Last November in Richmond, six thousand people gathered to hear the reports of the year's work. Something like a thousand of these were white and they represented the leading people of the City of Richmond and the State of Virginia. There were present and on the platform, the Governor of the State, the President of the Richmond Medical College, the Principal of Hampton Institute and many leading Negroes, among them, Mrs. Maggie L. Walker and such men as Dr. Charles S. Morris and Dr. Booker T. Washington. Mrs. B. B. Munford, one of the leading white ladies of Virginia, was asked to speak on the subject "What white people can do to help colored people." Mrs. Munford opened her address with these words. "The best way," she said, "for white people to help colored people is for white people to believe in colored people." When speaking to the colored people later in the evening, I said the best way for colored people to help white people is for colored people to believe in white people.

It seems to me, then, that if we live up to the spirit of the colored minister and the equally sincere and earnest advice from Mrs. Munford, we will have a clew to the maze of race prejudice

and race misunderstanding and a key to the door of Christian coöperation and brotherhood, and this is the spirit and purpose of this Negro Christian Students' Conference.

The New Voice in Race Adjustment; addresses and reports presented at the Negro Christian Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, May 14-18, 1914. New York Students' Volunteer Movement, 25 Madison Ave. 1914. p. 161-167.

ASSIMILATING THE INDIAN (1907)

ALBERT SHAW

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The Indian question was everywhere, west of the Appalachians, a serious and difficult one. However great at times may have been the practical injustice of our treatment of particular Indian tribes, it is to be remembered that it has been the intention of the government and of the people as a whole to act fairly toward the natives of the country. The tribes with which we have had to deal were without agriculture except of the most limited sort, were nomadic in their habits, and held their lands only in the sense of having a prescriptive right to roam over them in their pursuit of wild animals. These Indians were few in numbers, and as our forefathers needed lands for orderly settlement, it was necessary for the general government to extinguish the Indian title by some form of agreement with tribal chieftains, based on the analogy of international treaties.

The process has been a long and continuing one, and it would be both interesting and instructive to trace the effect of our contacts and relationships with the Indian as affecting the development of what is most distinctive in American citizenship and character. Certain Indian traits and qualities—those of physical courage and endurance, of silence and stoicism under conditions of danger and difficulty, of a certain unassailable personal dignity—have for a hundred years unquestionably so affected the American mind as to have entered very deeply into the quality of what we may call American personality. If all our pioneers were not at some time engaged in Indian fighting, they were all schooled in the need of being prepared for it. Outside of our Eastern cities, every American boy until within a very recent period has been trained in the use of arms, has had some knowledge of wild

animals and woodcraft, and has imbibed something of that personal initiative, resourcefulness, and capacity for self-directed action that could not have come alone from our early provisions for democratic equality and universal education. It came in large part from the experience of subduing a great continent and from the actual or traditional dealings of our people with so remarkable a man as the American Indian.

The obtaining of Indian lands, the carrying on of Indian wars, the relocating of Indians on substituted lands farther west, the dealing with them on reservations, the attempts to educate them and to fit them for modern economic life, and the constant efforts of philanthropists and idealists to give practical effect to our national pledges of justice toward the Indians, have provided us with a series of problems of government and administration from which we have never at any time been wholly free.

In Mexico the Indians were never supplanted, but entered into the body of citizenship. The result must be a slow and uncertain experiment in the creation of a new nationality of mixed racial origin, with the Spanish language as one of its chief uniting bonds. One-fifth of the Mexican population is white, with some small infusion of Indian blood. Two-fifths is of thoroughly mixed racial character, and about two-fifths almost purely Indian. The Indian racial type is evidently destined to prevail in Mexico, and the process of race amalgamation will go steadily forward. It will be a slow and difficult task, but not an impossible one, to bring this Mexican population up to a much higher average standard of intelligence than now prevails.

Our methods of agricultural settlement and advance almost wholly precluded intermarriage. Our conditions were incomparably more favorable than those of the Spaniards in Mexico. We were dealing with a small number of Indians, relatively speaking, and these were of nomadic and savage character, in contrast with the fixed nature of the Indian population of Mexico. The French, on the contrary, as hunters and trappers among the Canadian Indians of the Northwest, took Indian wives with the result that there arose a considerable population of French-Indian half-breeds. Here again the number of Indians is small when compared with the rapid development of the white race, and Canada's Indian problem will be solved by the complete absorption of the Indian population into the composite

European stock that is building up the western Canadian provinces.

By original agreement in accepting the cession of the Mississippi Territory from Georgia, the United States government had promised to extinguish the Indian land titles and make other provision for the Southern red tribes. Out of such agreements there resulted the subsequent creation of the so-called "Indian Territory," whither, from time to time, were removed the Choc-taws, Creeks, Seminoles, and many other entire or fractional tribes. These Indians have been fortunately situated and well protected in their rights, and they have adopted so many white men into their tribal organization that the full-blooded Indians are now in a small minority. A gradual opening up of these Indian lands to white settlement resulted some years ago in the setting apart of the temporary territory of Oklahoma. We have just now witnessed the reunion of Oklahoma and what was left of the old Indian Territory, and the admission of the whole under the name of Oklahoma as a State in the Union.

The process has been marked by great care in the distribution of lands in severalty to Indian families and individuals, and by various provisions to protect the Indians in all their rights of person and property during a future transitional period. All these red men of the Indian Territory will enter into full American citizenship, and the process of absorption into the white race will go on through intermarriage without hindrance or difficulty.

Gradually through long experience we are learning how to deal more intelligently with the Indians now segregated in Western reservations. The government's policy of providing schools for the Indian children is constantly growing wiser in its practical methods, and although aboriginal instincts are stubborn and hard to overcome, the inexorable pressure of our white population will either absorb the red man or cause his numbers to dwindle to the point of extinction. As a subject requiring great care and intelligence in administration, the Indian question will remain with us for a long time. But as a question affecting population and citizenship, it has now practically disappeared. We shall always owe some traits and qualities of national character to our contact with the North American Indians, but we shall assimilate them as a race with results scarcely perceptible.

AMERICA AND THE INDIAN

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The Indian race is fast reducing the purity of its blood, but the Indian blood predominates and holds the succeeding generation out of the national thought and out of Caucasian social control. No one is free until he shares in the thought which controls his social life. The mixed blood in custom and tradition is Indian, or raceless, which is worse. The Indian has no defined status. Taxed, he may or may not be a citizen. If taxed, or even if a citizen, he may have few or none of the privileges and immunities of a citizen; he may not—ordinarily he does not—have the control of his own property. If he is not a citizen, he is incompetent to sue or be sued, and is not even a competent witness in court. Even whole tribes of Indians, every individual of which may be nominally a citizen, have no standing in court, and have no right to sue for their claims, even in the United States Court of Claims. And in the third place, though we spend on an average about \$100 per year on every Indian child in the government schools, and demand from them not less than twelve years, and sometimes hold them far beyond their majority, yet the limited few who get an advanced education do not by government policy go beyond the eighth grade of our public schools.

Now may I state my thesis? The Indians are *not* assimilated. The assimilation of one race into another and surrounding race means bringing them into a full share in the life and thought of the latter. They must become constituent parts of the nation. They must be units of the new society. John S. Mackenzie, in his *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, has stated the point I wish to make in these words:

“When a people is conquered and subject to another, it ceases to be a society, except in so far as it retains a spiritual life of its own apart from that of its conquerors. Yet it does not become an integral part of the victorious people’s life until it is able to appropriate to itself the spirit of that life. So long as the citizens of the conquered state are merely in the condition of atoms externally fitted into a system to which they do not naturally belong, they cannot be regarded as parts of the society at all.

They are slaves: they are instruments of a civilization of which they do not partake. Certainly no more melancholy fate can befall a nation than that it should be subjected to another whose life is not large enough to absorb its own. But such a subjection cannot be regarded as a form of social growth. It is only one of those catastrophes by which a society may be destroyed. In so far as there is growth in such a case, it is still a growth from within. The conquering society must be able to extend its own life outward, so as gradually to absorb the conquered one into itself; otherwise the latter cannot be regarded as forming a real part of it at all, but at most as an instrument of its life, like cattle and trees."

I maintain that the Indian has not been incorporated into our national life, and cannot be until we radically change a number of fundamental things. We must give him a defined status, early citizenship and control of his property, adequate education, efficient government and schools, broad and deep religious training, and genuine social recognition. We must give him full rights in our society and demand from him complete responsibility. . . .

The Indians today, the great mass of them, are still a broken and beaten people, scattered and isolated, cowed and disheartened, confined and restricted, pauperized and tending to degeneracy. They are a people without a country, strangers at home, and with no place to which to flee. I know that there are thousands of exceptions to these statements, but yet they remain true for the great majority. The greatest injustice we do them is to consider them inferior and incapable. The greatest barrier to their restoration to normality and efficiency lies in their passivity and discouragement. We have broken the spring of hope and ambition. Can it ever be repaired?

It is readily to be seen that success will depend upon the accurate utilization or release both of external forces and of internal forces. The white race through government, industry, and religion must do its full part, and the red race through initiative and race leadership must also do its full part. I cannot make too clear, definite, or positive my belief that this problem is an exceedingly delicate one, and my belief that *failure is inevitable unless just the right policies are initiated very soon and carried on and carried through on the basis of maximum efficiency.*

The simple test of efficiency for us is, are we giving the Indian identical or equal opportunity with ourselves to share in and to

control the social consciousness, as well as to share in the privileges, immunities, duties, and obligations of the members of our national social body? This is the only goal worth while in assimilation. I grant you that public opinion is very far from this point of view and belief. The question for us is, do sociologists agree with it?

How shall Congress and the nation believe except they be taught? And who shall teach except those who have set themselves apart to study these things? If the body of sociologists could agree upon the theory and would express themselves individually and collectively, they could exert an immense influence at this particular critical moment. The hour is ripe and conditions are propitious for a considerable forward step—if only those who can speak with authority will speak. They must secure a consistent governmental practice, and guide public policy through the formulation of sound theory and the organization of a wise public opinion.

Long ago I became convinced that the Indian problem could not be solved without the initiative and co-operation of the Indian himself. When the government has done all that it can, there still remains the stimulation and development of internal forces to be effected. Race leadership must be found or the race will fail to see the new and better opportunities and will sink to rapid ruin. It used to be said that it would be impossible for Indians to organize and to hold together. Personal jealousies would wreck every endeavor. But the impossible has been done. For three years in succession the Indians have met in national conference, twice at the Ohio State University, and this year in the city of Denver. The conference has grown to a membership of nearly a thousand people, half of them Indians, half of them whites. Indians only are active members and do all the voting. They are publishing a remarkable quarterly journal, and if properly supported bid fair to do a work of great significance. Their Denver platform is of a quality which will compel national attention. Out of great sacrifice and labor this new force emerges. Shall we not welcome it and give it every possible support?

For us, duties divide into those imperative for the moment and those which relate to the future. We have our obligations toward pending legislation and in the support of the splendid efforts of the society of American Indians.

For the future we must set ourselves the task of continuous education of the public that every correct endeavor shall be protected and aided to the point where it achieves its proper and logical results. All of us can share in this task. But should not some of our great universities go farther? Ought there not to be one or more endowments created to establish chairs of race development with particular reference to the native race of the American continent? We have eminent professors who as anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians study the Indian of the past. Should we not have men who can devote themselves to the problem of the Indian as he now is, and to the problem of the means by which he may realize his highest possibilities as a citizen and fellow-worker? Such studies should mean vast things, not only for the United States, but for the uncounted millions of native Americans in the countries to the south of us. The nation and the continent call for this great new chair in sociology. Do we not owe this to the people we have so largely dispossessed?

The Assimilation of the American Indian. American Journal of Sociology. 19:761-72. May '14.

OUR SLAVIC FELLOW CITIZENS

The Question of Assimilation

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In a composite people like the American it is inevitable that the color of the whole should appear different to those who view it from different points. The Englishman is apt to think of the United States as literally a new England, a country inhabited in the main by two classes—on the one hand descendants of seventeenth century English colonists and on the other newly arrived foreigners.

The continental European, on the contrary, is apt to suffer from the complementary illusion and to believe that practically all Americans are recent European emigrants, mainly, or at least largely, from his own country. Frenchmen will state that a large proportion of the United States is French, the Germans believe that it is mainly German and that one could travel comfortably throughout the United States with a knowledge of German alone.

This is very natural. A man sees his own country people flocking to America, perhaps partly depopulating great tracts of the fatherland; he receives copies of newspapers printed in America in his own language; he travels in America and he is fêted and entertained everywhere by his own countrymen and is shown America through their eyes. "I visited for two weeks in Cedar Rapids and never spoke anything but Bohemian," said a Prague friend to me. An Italian lady in Boston said to an American friend, "You know in Boston one naturally gets so little chance to hear any English." One recalls hearing American friends make the corresponding complaint in Paris and Berlin.

On both sides such exaggerated impressions are very hard to shake off. What are the facts?

At present Negroes, Indians and Mongolians make twelve per cent of the population of the United States; foreign born white persons make thirteen per cent more, native born white persons of wholly or partly foreign parentage twenty-one per cent more, leaving a little over one-half (fifty-three per cent) native whites of native parentage.

Of the foreign born and their children, however, over a tenth are English in origin and something over a third, including the Irish, are English by inherited speech.

On the other hand, of the fifty-three per cent of persons of native white parentage many have non-English blood, some of them little and remote, some through all four grandparents.

Since the statistics of immigration began to be gathered in 1820, twenty-four millions of immigrants have been counted at our ports, of whom, of course, the major part have been neither English nor English speaking.

But the diversity goes back not to 1820, but, as everyone knows, to the colonization of the country. Some of the settlements which occupy a place in history, like that of the Swedes in Delaware, contributed little blood to the new country, but others did; and what with original non-English colonies and the immigration of Germans, Huguenots and, above all, Scotch-Irish (movements which relatively to the times were very important) it has been estimated that at the time of the Revolution fully one-fifth of the population spoke some other language than English and that not over one-half were of Anglo-Saxon blood.

Such estimates are uncertain, and it is to be hoped that the publication of the returns for the census of 1790, now under way,

may give us some new light, but at least they help to emphasize the fact that pre-Revolutionary America was by no means wholly English.

After the constitution of the Republic, whole populations were annexed *in situ*, adding considerable non-English populations—the Spanish of Florida, the Spanish-Mexicans of the southwest and California, and the French of Louisiana, Saint Louis and the old northwest.

“But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,”

the background and basis of the country is and always has been essentially English.

It was a group of English colonies that united to form the Republic. The strain that has predominated, the men that have shaped and led the nation, have been mainly English or English speaking, from the men of Virginia and Massachusetts in the Revolution to the Southerners, New Englanders and “Yankees” who supplied the native element in the westward movement.

Language wields an influence beyond all calculation and language has tended to make us open to English thought and comparatively inaccessible to other outside currents.

Not only is English generally spoken throughout the country, but it is surprisingly uniform. It has indeed much less dialectical variation than the languages of old countries like England and Germany, France and Italy.

Yet granting all that has been said as to the English in America, it remains true that the other elements which have made a component part of America since the beginning have not been either thrust out by the English or simply absorbed or altered over by them into their own likeness. There has been thus far an amalgam, a fusion, creating a new stock which is no longer English, but something distinctive and different, American. Even our English speech is not the English of England. Our physique, our bearing, still more our tone of mind and spiritual characteristics not only are distinguishable from the English but bear the mark of a national type as distinct perhaps as any.

* * * *

Language is not the only, not even the main channel of influence. Biologists show us by what natural laws animals take the color of their environment. For different reasons, but as surely,

people do the same. Unfortunately from the nature of the case the immigrant generally begins at the bottom. His helplessness makes him sought for as prey by sharpers and grafters. It is all that the immigration officials can do to keep them off him as he lands. As soon as he leaves the paternal care of Ellis Island they are upon him. Boarding-house runners, shady employment agencies, sellers of shoddy wares, hack drivers and expressmen beset his way. One hears all sorts of stories of abuses from both Americans and Slavs, of bosses who take bribes to give employment or good chambers in the mine, of ill usage at the hands of those who should be officers of justice, of arrests for the sake of fees, of unjust fines, of excessive costs paid rather than incur a greater expense. The litigiousness of the Slavs is exploited by "shyster" lawyers till the immigrants learn wisdom by experience.

The suffering and loss are less serious—bad as they are—than the evil lesson. The school boy who has been cruelly hazed is apt to be cruel to the next crop of victims and in the same way fraud and harshness tend to reproduce themselves.

But it is not only direct ill-treatment that is disastrous. Beginning at the bottom means "living not in America but under America," it means living among the worst surroundings that the country has to show, worse, often, than the public would tolerate except that "only foreigners" are affected. Yet to foreigners they are doubly injurious because coming often with low home standards, susceptible, eager and ready to accept what they find as the American idea of what should be, they are likely to accept and adopt as "all right" whatever they tumble into. I have been in places in Pennsylvania where all one can say is that civilization had broken down. Being in a city people could not help themselves individually as they might have done in the country, and the family with the most decent ideas was dragged down by the general degradation of the circumstances. From the dance hall at one end of the street to the white door bells all up and down its length, which openly denoted kitchen barrooms, everything smelled of lawlessness. The water was known to be infected with typhoid and had to be boiled to be safe—a considerable expense and trouble and an excellent reason for drinking other things. In the spring the garbage of the winter stood in heaps before the doors. The deep clay mud made some streets absolutely impracticable in wet weather. The neighbors mended them by pouring on ashes and miscellaneous dumpage. Assaults,

in some cases ending in death, took place night after night, and although the identity of the offender was supposed to be known, or rather because of that fact, no one dared move in the matter. The mayor stood for "running the town wide open," and was said to have investments not only in saloons but in immoral resorts.

This is a composite picture. I saw or heard of each thing on the spot, but not all were in the same place.

Now consider that it is into surroundings like these that we put our new employees, that this is the example that we set before our new fellow-citizens. Under such circumstances the Americanization over which we are so complacent is by no means all gain and this is true, alas, also in many cases among those who do not have to begin at the bottom.

It is obviously our plain duty to give the immigrant (and everyone else) fair treatment and honest government, and to maintain conditions making wholesome, decent living possible.

This is the minimum required at our hands, not by the Golden Rule—that asks much more—but by the most elementary ethic of civilization. Yet as a matter of fact this simple, fundamental thing we cannot do. It is not in our power.

We can and must do what in the end will be a better thing. We must get our new neighbors to work with us for these things.

If their isolation is not to continue, America must come to mean to them, not a rival nationality eager to make them forget their past and offering them material bribes to induce them to abandon their ideals. We must learn to connect our ideals and theirs, we must learn, as Miss Addams has demonstrated, to work together with them for justice, for humane conditions of living, for beauty and for true, not merely formal, liberty.

Clubs and classes, libraries and evening schools, settlements and, above all, movements in which different classes of citizens join to bring about specific improvements in government or in living conditions are of infinite value as they conduce to this higher unity in which we may preserve every difference to which men cling with affection without feeling ourselves any the less comrades.

AMERICA'S DUTY TO THE GREEKS

THOMAS BURGESS

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN BRANCH COMMITTEE OF THE ANGLICAN
AND EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES UNION.

Do the Greeks stay permanently in America? The statement has been made more than once by immigration experts as well as laymen that they do not stay. There seems to be an idea, found even in United States official quarters, that the Greek comes here, makes money, and then goes home, taking his money to Greece forever. Unfortunately for poor Greece, this is absolutely the opposite of the truth. Probably most Greeks do come to America with this purpose, but very few are ever able to accomplish it. The Greek immigrant does not go back, except for visits; he comes and stays. This is an important statement of fact, and needs to be emphasized for the very reason that it is contrary to the general opinion. One cause of this mistaken opinion is the plain record of immigration statistics, which show a large number of Greeks returning home each year. These figures are perfectly correct; but the point is, such returning Greeks are off for a *visit* only—few of these ever stay in Greece. Then, too, tourists have reported that they frequently run across in Greece Greeks that have returned from America. This also is quite true. But those very Greeks, though perhaps they would not admit it even to themselves, are in Greece only temporarily; inevitably they will come back again to America, and that soon. Pretty surely the same is true of the large majority of those Greeks who went back to fight in the Balkan War.

The emigrant from Greece usually borrows money—a minimum \$100, his passage fare, and the law-required sum for his pocket on landing. Or if he is so unusually lucky as to own this sum, it probably is his whole capital. He reaches the promised land. He works hard to send back what he borrowed and a good deal more to keep those who depend on him at home from starving. All this takes a number of years. At last he has saved up some money, be it a hundred or a thousand dollars. He goes back to Greece and spends most of it. Then taking his family if he has one, he returns to America. Why does he return? Simply because (ask any of the thousands of Greeks that have done so) a Greek who has once lived in this country can-

not stay satisfied in Greece. Here he has made new acquaintances; there, after a prolonged absence, he finds strangers. He discovers that in Greece his hard-earned money will not enable him to set up any kind of business—business is carried on by the better classes, not the peasant. In Greece no credit is allowed: credit was what enabled him to start and keep running in America. In fact, American business methods will not fit into Greece at all. He finds himself no better off than before he first emigrated, in fact much worse. And so it is that those immigrants who in their disheartenment wish to go home to Greece, cannot; and those who in their first flush of success do go, find it impossible to stay. This fact is all too sadly known in Greece by the leading Greeks here. And still the homeland Greeks, lured by the garnished romances of our wonderland, keep building their air castles and set sail. And still the bitter disillusionments breed either heroes or cynics. Thus far the migration has proven irrevocable. The Greeks are here and here to stay. What are we Americans going to do about it?

How to do your part:

1. Do your utmost to remove in your community the un-American and un-Christian prejudice against the Greek. Treat him openly yourself as an equal, and thus by your example others will be led to treat him as an equal—for in very truth the average Greek is the equal of the average American.

2. Honor and express your honor for and seek to preserve that pride of the Greek in the history of his race, the beauty of his language, the customs and traditions of his fatherland, the orthodoxy of his church—for it is these that have implanted and preserved in him patriotism, aspiration for an education, duty to family, benevolence for the afflicted, courtesy, temperance. To strive to obliterate the ideals of the fatherland that we may turn out an unadulterated "American" is worse than foolish. The right kind of assimilation will certainly not be accomplished, as Professor Balch well expresses it, by the American saying to the foreigner, "We two shall be one, and I will be that one." Let us rather preserve for this transplanted tree the goodly portion of its native soil, and add to it that which is good in Americanism. The combination will furnish to American citizenship, nay is already furnishing, a very valuable species.

3. Coöperate with the Greek leaders and organizations in all schemes of uplift for the Greeks—the uplift of the Greek is the

raison d'être of most Greek organizations. For example, when we give the use of our public school buildings for Greek evening schools—as we always should do—let the leading Greeks of the community decide with us the best course, methods, and teachers. In sanitary reforms, ask the advice and coöperation of the leaders—and so in all civic reforms. To ignore utterly the regular Greek organization in dealing with matters which affect Greeks, is as unwise and insulting for example, as it is to invite a troop of boy scouts or a fraternal order to participate in a Memorial Day parade and ignore the well drilled Greek military company of the city—a pretty way to foster citizenship. Moreover, the same plan should be followed by the United States and the state governments in planning legislation or reforms that affect the immigrant. Let them take into confidence and act with the advice and cooperation of the national organization of the Greeks (and those of other foreign people). Is it not foolish to make long investigations and act on them without the help of those who know the conditions best and are in the position to do the most effective work?

4. Finally, that which really counts most, as it does in all else—our personal touch of man with man. Let those Americans who stand for that true ideal of Americanism which the Greek expected to find before he came to our shores—that which is lofty without vanity, free without license, unselfish without discrimination—let such men and women learn to know their Greek neighbors by personal touch and sincere friendship; and, if need arise, by doing for them the good turns, not of “charity” but of friendship. Only so can the Greeks learn to value the ideals of the true American.

Greeks in America: an account of their coming, progress, customs, living and aspirations. pp. 182:182-9 Boston. Sherman, French & Co. 1913.

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

A Contrast to English and Dutch Colonial Policies

WILLIAM H. TAFT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1908-1912.

The skill and success with which the English have governed tropical races in India, Burma, the Straits Settlements, and the Federated Malay States and in Egypt, and with which the Dutch have governed their East Indian possessions, especially the Malays in Java, are well known to anyone familiar with the history of colonial administration. They have secured tranquillity, well-ordered government, an impartial administration of justice, and material improvement. By the construction of roads, bridges, harbors, railroads, and other public works, they have developed the production and trade of the colonies to the highest degree.

When there was thrust upon the American people the task of governing the Philippines, with their 8,000,000 souls, it was natural and proper and of the highest utility that we should profit by the experience of the British and Dutch in their colonial administration; but in so far as the people we had to deal with were different from the people under their control, and in so far as the object of our taking control of the islands was different from that which animated them, we were obliged to vary our policy from theirs. The chief difference between their policy and ours, in the treatment of tropical people, arises from the fact that we are seeking to prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government. We are attempting to do this, first, by primary and secondary education offered freely to all the Filipino people; and, second, by extending to the Filipinos wider and wider practice in self-government so that by actual experience they may learn the duties of the citizen, his proper sense of responsibility for the government and the self-restraint absolutely necessary to a wise control of a minority by a majority. Without denying for one moment that the material development of a country, the construction of roads, harbors and railroads and other modern methods of intercommunication, are most efficient means of elevating the people and making their ed-

ucation possible, those who have been responsible for the Philippine policy of the American Government have also regarded the establishment of a public-school system in the islands as a most important feature of their administration. This is at variance with the views of the British and Dutch Colonial Administrators. Those Englishmen who have had occasion to comment upon our course in the Philippines have invariably criticised the expenditure of large sums by the Government in the payment of American school teachers and the establishment of public schools thruout the islands. Such is the view of Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. Savage Landor, and Mr. Alleyne Ireland. It is based not only upon what they deem to be the greater value to the people of public improvements, for which the money spent in public education might be used, but also upon the positive injury that they think is done to a tropical people, situated as the Filipinos are, by spreading education among them. They believe that popular education makes for the detriment of the tropical races, whose life work must be largely taken up in tilling the fields.

* * * *

The theory of this policy is that if people are kept ignorant under a strong, paternal government, they are much less likely to become discontented with the restrictions of Government and much more amenable to Governmental influence in inducing them to labor and till the fields, than if they receive education enough to widen their horizon and to inspire them with a desire to be something more than hewers of wood and haulers of water. It is considered that a widespread system of education promotes among those who receive its benefits the development of discontented persons, of agitators and political demagogues, who are quite willing to embroil their people in insurrection and controversies with the Government without any thought of the real benefit which may be thereby acquired.

Our view of this subject is that the benefit to be derived from the general system of education to all the people greatly outweighs the disadvantages from the over-education of a few who put their knowledge acquired thru the system of public education to a bad purpose. It is not the purpose of the American Government, in retaining control of the Philippine Islands, to secure a permanent government of an ignorant people, from whose industry and trade commercial benefits may be secured to the mother country, nor are the peace and tranquillity of the islands

and subservience of the people to our Government to be our ultimate aim. Our chief object is to develop the people into a self-governing people, and in doing that popular education is, in our judgment, the first and most important means. Now, if, in extending the education, we may prepare in our own schools men who will subsequently revolt against the Government, or seek to disturb the peace and tranquillity in the islands, this risk we must run for the greater benefit involved in a spread of intelligence among the whole people. The truth is, the Government is much more subject to attack and disturbance with the whole body of the people in a state of hopeless ignorance and a small number of agitators who can exercise unmeasured and irresponsible control over them than it is when the people have general intelligence and are able to distinguish between the appeals to them by real patriots and the mouthings of irresponsible agitators and demagogues. The policy of the American Philippine Government is not to give to, or force upon, every worker in the rice fields a college education. In the nature of things, the great mass will only receive a primary education. More than this, we have already established manual training, trade, and agricultural schools, and we expect to increase their number so that the people of every province may profit by them. The Philippine people have comparatively few skilled workmen among them, and yet the Filipino is singularly apt with his hands, and has a natural taste for mechanics and machinery. Education of this kind certainly does not promote idleness or create discontented and over-educated agitators.

* * * *

We in America believe in popular self-government. We believe in it because in the long run we are sure that each man can be depended on with reasonable intelligence to protect his own interest more constantly than another can be trusted to look after that interest. Hence the problem which the United States has had set before it is the question of how to educate the Filipino people to be a self-governing people. The criticisms of this policy are really founded on a denial of the possibility of fitting a people like the Filipinos for self-government. We must admit that, with respect to tropical races, this is a new experiment. Such a policy has never been attempted by any government having tropical colonies or dependencies, and the issue whether it is a feasible and practicable policy remains to be decided. Speak-

ing for myself, I think it is entirely practicable, if sufficient time and effort and patience are given to working it out.

How long it will require to accomplish the object of those who instituted these processes of education of the people, is mere conjecture. Certainly it ought to continue long enough under American auspices to insure its continuance and maintenance under the auspices of the Filipino people if they should see fit to establish independent government. If, however, the government were now turned over to the Filipino people without continued American guidance, the whole fabric of the educational system established by the American Government in those islands would fall to pieces. The self-sacrifice, the patience, and the knowledge necessary to the continuance of such a system of education are not to be found now even among the intelligent classes of the Filipino people. They are not sufficiently charged with the importance of maintaining all these instruments that I have described, for the purpose of elevating the poor and the common people. They are quite content with a government of the few. I was visited in Manila by a delegation of Filipino gentlemen who desired to found a party for the advocacy and obtaining of immediate independence by peaceable means, and who made an argument in its favor based on the ground which they solemnly stated, that they had counted the number of the *gente ilustrada*, or educated people, in the island, and they figured out the number of offices to be filled and had found that the number of educated people in the islands was more than double the offices to be filled. They reasoned, therefore, that as the offices could be filled twice—first by one party and then by the other party—with educated incumbents, the country was ready for self-government. I pointed out to them that the security and stability of a popular self-government depended upon the existence of free, intelligent public opinion, and that as long as 90 per cent. of their people were in hopeless ignorance and in a mere state of Christian pupilage, subject to being led about by every wealthy educated demagog that should raise his voice, they could not expect the coming of firm or stable self-government.

If the policy is to be followed which shall take away from the hands of the American Government the power to do this people an infinite good by carrying out thoroly the plan of education which I have outlined, it will be to everyone who really knows the situation a source of infinite regret.

ARE JAPANESE ASSIMILABLE?

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It is ever to be remembered that just as there are sharp differences between English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, all of Great Britain, and also between the English, French, Spanish, and German peoples, so there are sharp differences between the people of Kagoshima, Kyoto, and Sendai in Japan, and between Japanese and Chinese, Koreans, Hindoos, Persians, Turks, and Arabs. These differences, however, belong to the psychic characteristics of the social orders, not to the inherent and unchanging psychic natures of the peoples. To talk, therefore, of the oriental consciousness, as though they possessed an essential psychic race unity, embracing all their differences and differentiating them from all Westerners, is to speak in fact of what does not exist.

* * * *

Amateur race psychologists write as though they knew the races in detail. As a matter of fact, they are guided by their own *a priori* theories. They catch at a few facts here and there in harmony with their theories and build thereon gigantic dogmatic structures.

A few years ago there came to Japan an eminent German professor of comparative religion. He had visited Persia and India, Siam and China, and was then completing his study of oriental religions in Japan. He stated that he wanted to get first-hand information, so as not to be dependent on books. And he forthwith began to discourse to the writer, who listened with rapt attention to his fine discriminations between the religious feelings and insights of the various races. Unfortunately, the writer ventured to ask how he had learned all these facts; had he employed interpreters? for surely he could not have mastered all the languages in so short a time. "Oh, no," he replied, "in the matter of religious feelings it is impossible to make use of interpreters, for they could not possibly understand what I am studying, much less could they inquire of pilgrims what I wish to learn, nor report back to me their replies. In this matter language is useless. My method is simply to watch. I merely observe the faces

of the worshippers and pilgrims and know by my own insight the feelings that fill their souls."

There you are. A scientific German! A professor of psychology and philosophy diving into his own inner consciousness for the facts of oriental religious life! Not every one confesses his method so frankly; but the great majority of tourists and "students" of things oriental, who cannot talk with a native of the country in his own tongue, nor read a line of the daily press, after spending in those lands a few weeks or months and receiving certain impressions, fail to ask how much is objective fact and how much subjective fiction; and then, bound to write interestingly, they proceed to describe the "inscrutable" Oriental, with his strange ways of life and, to us, impossible views of human relationships. Such is the material that has been largely to blame for the extraordinary misconceptions of the East so prevalent in the West.

Lafcadio Hearn, Sir Edwin Arnold, Percival Lowell, and such writers have described most entertainingly and with captivating literary skill the Japan of their dreams, but not the real Japan of flesh and blood. Superficial peculiarities are exaggerated without measure, deeper identities are overlooked, until we are led to believe that Orientals are so different from us that really they are unintelligible and we are equally so to them; there is a deep, impassable gulf fixed between them and us. It then follows as a matter of course that we and they are mutually unassimilable. . . . The writer regards these opinions and writings not only as erroneous but also as injurious. They are affecting seriously the relations of the nations. In his experience, the writer has found the Japanese thoroughly human; they are fundamentally like us and wish to be regarded and treated so. They wish to be accepted as brothers in the great world of history and in the forward movement of mind. They wish to enter fully into our lives and to be allowed full fellowship. They keenly resent the charge that they are inscrutable and unassimilable.

That there are no psychological differences between East and West is by no means our contention. There certainly are. These the writer has in a measure studied and described in his work on "Japanese Evolution, social and psychic." Our general contention is that such psychic differences as distinguish the East from the West are products of social life, belong to the social order, and are therefore subject to rapid change. . . . The entire his-

tory of Japan during the past fifty years is one grand illustration of this. Japanese character is rapidly undergoing changes now that feudalism has been abandoned and occidental modes of political, industrial, educational, judicial, and social organization and life have been introduced. . . . China is now rapidly moving over the same road.

* * * *

The degree in which the children will be assimilated to the new civilization will depend on many factors, but they are wholly social. Are the immigrants welcomed and treated as friends by the adopted land? Do the parents desire to give their children complete education in the language of their adopted land and do they have the means for it? Or do they, on the contrary, desire to keep their children loyal to their own native land, giving them little or no foreign education, requiring their children to master their own ancestral language and literature? And further, from infancy, does the mother sing the native songs to her children and instil feelings of patriotism and devotion and admiration for national heroes? And, on the other hand, does the adopted land give them the welcome and educational, economic, and social opportunity or does it refuse these or at least begrudge them?

These are the principal factors that determine the degree of social assimilation which children experience in a foreign land. Of course, the influence of the parents may be exerted in one direction, while that of the social, educational, and economic situation may work in the opposite direction. The results will be mixed and highly complex. But the point to be clearly remembered is that the degree of social assimilation that actually takes place depends entirely on the social conditions of the home and the environment.

The United States has been an extraordinary experimental laboratory of assimilation. Here all the peoples of Europe have intermingled. First social assimilation went on apace and then race intermarriage. As to the complete social assimilation of the descendants of all immigrants from Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no one has any doubt. This may be vaguely thought by some to have taken place through intermarriage, but that is far from the case. Are there not many families of unmixed Puritan, German, or Dutch ancestry and yet are they less American? Do they lack in social assimilation? . . .

The power of the free, political, judicial, educational, and

economic institutions of America to assimilate the various antagonistic populations of Europe is one of the striking features of modern life. Our institutions are being put to a terrific test by millions of raw immigrants. But the evidence is clear and convincing that from these masses, even in the second generation, we are securing enthusiastic and intelligent Americans, loyal to the core to the characteristic features of the country.

But the significant fact is that these assimilative processes are social rather than biological, and can, therefore, take place with amazing rapidity. And this is exactly because it takes place in the realm of the soul and not of the blood. . . .

Were the social assimilation of races dependent on intermarriage, the outlook for the United States would be, indeed, foreboding. Such, however, is not the case. It proceeds independently, for it is a matter of social inheritance and is transmitted entirely through social relations.

The great obstacle to the social assimilation of race is race aggregation, which preserves race language and customs, and this is equally true of any race. Provide for social intermixture with the joint education of the children and assimilation will take place with amazing rapidity.

Now, Japanese residing in America desire to have their children associate with Americans that they may learn American customs and the English language. The number of Japanese reared from infancy in America is still few. But in spite of the anti-Japanese sentiment, which does not furnish the most favorable environment, the results are surprising. Japanese children soon become so Americanized that they have no difficulty in making friendships.

The results in Hawaii of American education on children of all races are highly instructive from the sociological standpoint, justifying the belief that, even in sections where the majority of families are not American but Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian, the American school succeeds to a wonderful degree in imparting the American language and social heritage. . . .

In estimating the problem of Japanese assimilability, there is one important factor which an American would hardly surmise and which he cannot easily grasp, namely, the enormous difficulty of the Japanese language. A long exposition of its characteristics would be needed to illustrate this point adequately. The

difficulty may be suggested by the statement that no Japanese child reared wholly in America can acquire both an English education and a reading knowledge of his own language. If he remains in America till he is twelve or thirteen years old and then returns to Japan, he is already so badly handicapped that it is exceedingly difficult for him to get into the Japanese school system. Japanese children in Hawaii and California after school hours commonly attend, from four to six P. M., some Japanese school for the study of their own language. They find on reaching the age of ten or twelve, that they can read anything in English which their minds can understand, while in Japanese they are still struggling with the mere forms of the Chinese ideographs. English they find easy, while their own language they find increasingly difficult and distasteful.

The result is that Japanese children reared in America lose the reading power of their own language far more surely and rapidly than those of European immigrants. This is an important fact, for it means that Japanese of the second generation in America are more rapidly and completely cut off from the social and historical influence of their people than are American-born aliens of any other race. . . .

Those who deny the assimilability of the Japanese have based their belief on a theory of race nature which is no longer tenable. In a word, they are obsessed by the biological conception of man's nature and life. They do not recognize the psychic or spiritual factor, nor do they perceive that this psychic factor modifies in important ways even man's physical life. They think of heredity only in terms of biological analogy and have not a glimpse of social heredity with laws wholly its own. They, accordingly, cannot conceive of the real assimilation by one people of members of another race except by intermarriage and actual interchange of biological heredity. Nor can they understand how, from groups of different peoples and races, a truly homogeneous nation can arise, except through intermarriage and complete blood mixture. . . .

Observation of adult Japanese who have been in California a few years, by unsympathetic Californians who have never been in Japan, may indeed seem to substantiate the view as to Japanese non-assimilability. Observation, however, by one who has lived long in Japan leads to the opposite conclusion. The degree in which Japanese in California have already been changed is highly

impressive and prophetic. An American, unfamiliar with the Japanese in their own land, is not in a position to estimate the changes which take place through life in this land. . . .

The writer was told by an experienced Japanese teacher of children in Japan that one of his impressive discoveries on coming to America was the fact that Japanese children born and reared here differ so distinctly from children in Japan. Their spirit and even the play of expression on their faces disclose the subtle influences at work transforming them. . . .

Lafcadio Hearn is quoted in proof of the alleged non-assimilability of the Japanese: "Here is an astounding fact. The Japanese child is as close to you as the European child, perhaps closer and sweeter, because infinitely more natural and naturally refined. Cultivate his mind, and the more it is cultivated the farther you push him from you. Why? Because here the race antipodalism shows itself."

Mr. Hearn has well observed the facts, but miserably failed in the interpretation. The education of the Japanese child in Japan does, indeed, push him away from you, an American, because it gives him the Japanese social inheritance, the product of thousands of years of divergent social evolution. But educate that same child in America, give him the American social inheritance and the English language and you bind him the more closely to you. Just here is the fallacy into which nearly all fall who insist on Japanese non-assimilability. They are talking about the adult. They forget, or do not know, that any social heritage whatever can be given to any child, and that, therefore, the child of any race can be assimilated, socially, to any other. And this exactly is the reason also why race aggregations in any land are relatively non-assimilable. It is because the children receive the social heritage of their parents' race with its language rather than that of the country where they live.

The determined defendant of Japanese non-assimilability displays amazing ignorance of the results of modern science which has completely taken the ground from under his feet.

Adequate specific data are lacking in regard to the desirability of biological assimilation of the Japanese and white races, but the social assimilability of the Japanese is beyond question. In this they do not differ from any other people. . . .

The American Japanese Problem, pp. 132-68. New York. Scribner, 1914.

LONG, TOO LONG, O LAND

WALT WHITMAN

POET, SEER, AMERICANIST

Long, too long, O land,
Travelling roads all even and peaceful, you learn'd from joys
and prosperity only;
But now, ah now, to learn from crises of anguish—advancing,
grappling with direst fate, and recoiling not;
And now to conceive, and show to the world, what your children
en-masse really are.

FLAG OF STARS! THICK-SPRINKLED
BUNTING

WALT WHITMAN

Flag of stars! thick-sprinkled bunting!
Long yet your road, fateful flag!—long yet your road, and
lined with bloody death!
For the prize I see at issue, at last is the world!
All its ships and shores I see, interwoven with your threads,
greedy banner!
—Dream'd again the flags of kings, highest borne, to flaunt
unrival'd?
O hasten, FLAG OF MAN! O with sure and steady step, passing
highest flags of kings,
Walk supreme to the heavens, mighty symbol—run up above
them all,
Flag of stars! thick-sprinkled bunting!

Poems of Walt Whitman, pp. 396 and 423. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell
co., 1902.

PART III

TECHNIC OF RACE-ASSIMILATION

RACE-ASSIMILATION

THE HOPES OF THE HYPHENATED

GEORGE CREEL

CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

The question for the United States to decide is whether the same old policy of neglect, stupidity, and oppression shall be pursued, or whether a new and sincere approach shall be made to the task of assimilation. In this connection, let it be borne in mind that while the immigrant seems to suffer and die in seeming helplessness, he works his revenge upon society in a thousand ways. Out of his ignorance and despair he drags down the wage-scale, acts as a strike-breaker, lowers the American standard of living, and adds the note of actual ferocity to the competitive struggle. Out of the slums where aliens fester in dirt and disease come the defectives and delinquents that fill our jails and asylums, and their ignorance and lack of civic interest make them easy prey for the unclean political influences that prosper by municipal maladministration.

Ludlow, Calumet, Lawrence, Paterson, Cabin Creek, and other revolts of oppressed aliens have cost millions in actual loss and scarred whole States with hatred. Even if justice to the alien contains no appeal, there is the instinct of self-preservation to compel drastic changes.

Certain steps are already being taken in the direction of reform. Mr. Caminetti, Commissioner-General of Immigration, has vitalized the division of information so that it is truly aiding the immigrant in making the choice of a home, and is doing a splendid work in connection with the employment problem. Also, by an arrangement with Mr. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, the names of all immigrant children of school age are sent immediately from the various ports of arrival to the school authorities at the point of destination.

Several cities, notably Cleveland, have established immigration bureaus that guard the immigrant from the time of his

arrival, watching his education, protecting his rights, promoting his interests, and helping him in the advance to naturalization. Of the States, California has moved to the front with a statute providing teachers to work in the homes of immigrants, instructing children and adults in education laws, labor laws, sanitation, and the fundamental principles of American citizenship.

The North American Civic League for Immigrants is a powerful volunteer body that attempts the promotion of helpful legislation, the positive work required to protect the immigrant, and the teaching of the English language. Through the medium of the Baron de Hirsch Trust, the Jewish immigrant receives far larger consideration than that accorded to any other nationality. The Trust maintains distributing agencies at all points of entry, and not only is the alien placed in the business or job for which he has been trained, but in event of his poverty he is loaned the money necessary for transportation and equipment.

These activities are praiseworthy indeed, but they do not by any means contain the solution of the immigrant problem. The work that is to be done cannot wait upon private generosity or individual initiative, nor will the true answer ever be given by cities or states acting by themselves. The task of assimilation is national. It is the Federal Government that lets in these millions from other shores, and it is the Federal Government that must accept the responsibility for their protection, development, and Americanization. The one policy that carries with it any certainty of success is a policy that will regard every alien as a ward of the nation, to be guarded, aided, and protected from the very day of arrival to the day of naturalization. Until they have mastered the language, become acquainted with their rights as well as their duties, and gained a sense of belonging, these strangers within our gates are as children, and must be so treated.

Such a policy, taking account of the muddles and maladjustments of the past, will invent machinery of distribution that will end the disastrous stupidity of farmers huddled in industrial centers, tradesmen and professional men herded in mills and factories, and skilled labor wasting itself in unskilled drudgeries—a machinery that will place every immigrant to his own advantage as well as to the advantage of the state.

In the growth of the unemployment problem, and the increase in involuntary poverty, may be seen the evil results of the theory

that has insisted upon government as a sovereign power rather than as a working partnership with the people. In the formulation of a sane immigration policy there is the chance for the Government of the United States to put off its purple robes of aloofness and put on the overalls of empire-building.

Government lands and state lands lie idle while the business of pioneering is turned over to promoters who are concerned only with their profits, caring nothing for the human element that figures in their close bargains. Where is there larger promise of happiness and prosperity than in the transportation of immigrant agriculturists, in community groups, to this public land, together with such equipment as will enable them to make a flying start in their conquest of the soil? It is not a new idea, or radical, for other countries are using the twenty-year-loan system to put people upon the land.

In those isolated cases where immigrant groups have succeeded in getting into agriculture, the result has been industry, thrift, sobriety, education, and Americanization. Italians are growing cotton on the Mississippi delta, fruit in the Ozarks and Louisiana, and raising garden-truck in the Atlantic Coast States and New England, either rendering worthless land productive by their toil or else developing supposedly waste tracts.

The Poles are lovers of the land, ninety per cent of them that come to the United States being eager to engage in agriculture, and the small number able to achieve their ambition have only stories of success to tell. The Polish farmers of Wisconsin, Illinois, Texas, and Kansas are not behind the native-born in their contributions to the general good, and the Bohemians are others who have done well wherever their feet have touched the soil.

The investigations of the Immigration Commission proved that all of those thus brought into contact with opportunity were grasping it, taking out naturalization papers, Americanizing in every way, and playing their proper part in municipal, state, and national affairs.

A second necessary step is the creation of a federal system of public employment bureaus which may minister to the needs of the native-born as well as of the alien. Individual states have failed abjectly in this respect, for even the nineteen commonwealths that have created free employment bureaus have done little more than to pile up records of inadequacy. Federal control would cover the whole country, supplementing and assisting

the work of existing organizations, regulating private agencies, and bringing together definitely the jobless man and the manless job. Here again it is a matter of imitation rather than innovation, for Great Britain and Germany have for years been operating national labor exchanges successfully.

The United States must follow the example of European countries, which meet the difficulties of poverty by the advancement of transportation costs, and also guard against class control of the machinery by providing that both workers and employers shall have representation on a governing committee.

Justice must be made swift and inexpensive, and this cannot be done until the simple and innumerable disputes of the industrial world are removed from the wearisome processes of traditional jurisprudence. As long ago as 1806, France created industrial courts, and the example has been followed by Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Belgium. A president, who represents the public, and an equal number of workers and employers sit as a jury rather than as a court. Lawyers are barred; the parties to the dispute take turns relating grievance and defense, and in consequence of this simplicity, ninety per cent of the cases are adjusted without formal hearings. In event of threatened strikes or lockouts, the courts have the power to sit as boards of arbitration, and it is only in rare cases that satisfactory agreements are not reached.

Compare the simplicity of this procedure with the American method of frequent trials, frequent appeals, reversed decisions, remanded cases, court costs, lawyers' fees, and months of delay, a gauntlet that no poor man dares to run. The dollar out of which an alien is cheated may mean to him the difference between a bed or a park bench, and certainly his sense of injustice will not inspire him with respect for democratic institutions.

The processes of education must be quickened, and greater emphasis should be put upon the preparation of human beings for the business of life. Immigrant adults, as well as immigrant youth, should have the privilege of instruction in the English language, national, state, and municipal government, industrial laws, customs, and ways of American life, hygiene, sanitation, and all other allied subjects that will fit them to be intelligent, useful American citizens.

Germany, through a compulsory system of continuation schools, has control over a youth until his eighteenth year; and

although the system has been in force since 1891, it is only now that the United States is taking timid, tentative steps in the same direction.

Federal standards of education must be raised, and the established principle of federal aid to the poorer states should be carried through to the point where illiteracy will vanish, whether the illiterate be a native-born child or an adult alien. Not the least vital task of the public school system is to serve the immigrant during his struggle for prosperity and citizenship.

Health is no less important than education, and authoritative investigation has shown that adult delinquency and dependency are largely due to neglect in connection with the physical defects and deficiencies of the growing youth. Not alone is it necessary to have medical inspection and dental clinics for every child that passes through the public schools of the United States, but particularly in the case of the immigrant and the poverty-stricken native-born there is need of infant dispensaries, model kitchens, milk stations, visiting nurses, and a program of preventive medicine.

While new machinery in large measure may be necessary for the doing of all these things, the plant for its housing is already at hand. The school buildings of the United States offer themselves for the purpose in full perfection of convenience, economy, and effectiveness. As it is today, the schools, which represent the largest single investment of the people's money, are in use a scant seven hours a day for an average of one hundred and forty-four days a year.

The neighborhood is the group unit next in importance to the family itself, and the school building is the center of the neighborhood. What reaches every child in the United States can reach every parent, and not only does the wider use of the school plant hold out its rich promise to the alien, but to the native born as well.

In every building serving its neighborhood group may be placed the official representative of the federal system of immigrant distribution, the branch office of the federal employment exchange, the industrial court, the medical inspection bureau, the dental clinic, the milk station, the visiting nurses, the infant dispensary, the free-legal-aid bureau, the health office, and the juvenile court. Here is the natural and suitable place for the instruction of the adult alien in English and citizenship, for the art

gallery, for the branch library, for the model kitchen, and for the development of the play instinct.

Night use of the school buildings strikes at the very heart of the leisure-time problem. In cities thousands of little children play in the streets, menaced alike by evil environment and the police court, and in the country life is admittedly dull and stagnant. Growing girls are forced into the dance hall, men into the saloon, and women either gossip across stoops and fire escapes or become fungous growths in kitchens. In competition with the reckless greeds of commercialized amusement, the social center offers amateur theatricals, debates, dancing parties, moving picture shows, receptions, gymnasium games, all in a clean, inspiring environment, subjected to the wholesome restraints of the family group and neighborly friendship.

The immigrants can be tapped for their rich store of folk songs, games, and traditional customs, so that not only will the native born be enriched and broadened, but the alien given that absolutely essential sense of belonging. To watch an interracial pageant in a New York school building, shared in by twenty nationalities, happy, laughing, proud, and friendly, is complete answer to the question of assimilation.

The school building should be the polling-place, and through the medium of the social center it is possible to effect the self-organization of voters into a deliberative body that will always be in session, the school house its headquarters. Would not this be more inspiring to the alien than the location of voting booths in livery stables, barber shops, and sheds, or the gathering of voters in some saloon-connected room or in a hall paid for by interested parties out of mysterious funds?

With specific reference to the alien, the school-principal employed by the educational authorities to look after the children of immigrants may also be employed by the immigration authorities to care for the adults as well. His should be the proposition of neighborhood guardian of these wards of the nation, looking after their inclusion in the proper classes, acquainting them with the services rendered by employment bureau, health office, free legal aid bureau, and visiting nurses, and drawing them into the night play of the social center. In thickly settled communities, where a principal would not have the necessary time, an assistant or assistants might be appointed.

A beginning has been made. Wisconsin, Indiana, Massachu-

setts, Kansas, New York, Washington, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia are in possession of a law that permits the people to use school buildings, aside from school hours, for the purpose of meeting and discussing "any and all subjects and questions which in their judgment may appertain to the educational, political, economic, artistic, and moral interest of the citizens." Out of it has grown the new profession of social secretary.

All that is necessary is the adoption of a federal policy that will give unity, purpose, and dynamic direction to what is now isolated and sporadic, and the task of immigrant assimilation is a sound base for such a policy. Fortunately enough, the money for the work is at hand, and what is more, it is money provided by the immigrant himself. Today, in the United States Treasury, there is a balance of \$10,000,000 in the head tax fund contributed to by every new arrival. There is no question that this income was primarily intended as a sacred trust fund, for the law of 1882, levying a tax of fifty cents on every immigrant, provided that "the money thus collected . . . shall constitute a fund to be called the immigrant fund, and shall be used . . . to defray the expenses of regulating immigration under this act and for the care of immigrants arriving in the United States, for the relief of such as are in distress, and for the general purposes and expenses of carrying this act into effect."

In 1894 the head tax was raised to one dollar, in 1903 to two dollars, and in 1907 to four dollars. In 1909 the immigrant fund was abolished, and the headtax receipts were dumped into the Treasury, the regulation of immigration being forced to depend upon such annual allowances as Congress saw fit to make. The \$10,000,000 balance belongs to the immigrants, and even if their need were less bitter, it would still be unfair and dishonest to divert a trust fund from its avowed object to purposes that were never intended.

The dreadful European conflict will not have been without its service if the United States, alarmed by the persistence of the hyphen in American life, adopts an immigration policy that in its essence will be a policy of hope, justice, aspiration, and progress for all the oppressed and unhappy, whether they be native born or strangers within the gates.

Hopes of the Hyphenated. Century, v. 91, 350-63. January, 1916.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE
IMMIGRANT

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I. The Problem of Americanization

"Americanization" is assimilation in the United States. It is that process by which immigrants are transformed into Americans. It is not the mere adoption of American citizenship, but the actual raising of the immigrant to the American economic, social and moral standard of life. Then has an immigrant been Americanized only when his mind and will have been united with the mind and will of the American so that the two act and think together. The American of today is, therefore, not the American of yesterday. He is the result of the assimilation of all the different nationalities of the United States which have been united so as to think and act together.

Again, Americanization is very different from amalgamation.¹ Amalgamation is but one force which appears in the Americanization process and that an unimportant one, as it usually occurs only after the immigrant has been at least partly Americanized. Furthermore, "to think and act together" does not necessitate that race ties are wholly lost. That is its usual meaning, but nationalities such as the Jews, Italians, Bohemians and even Scandinavians often settle in practically exclusive settlements. Such settlements are Americanized in as much as the immigrants learn to think and act like Americans. "To think and act together" in some cases is, therefore, to think and act like Americans, and in others it is the actual uniting of the minds and activities of the immigrants with those of the Americans by actual, permanent association.

Finally, it is essential to recognize degrees of Americanization. Some immigrants will adopt certain American methods, customs and ideas, but will refuse, or prove themselves unable, to adopt others. Some will, quite fully, adopt the industrial methods of American industry and yet be unable to speak the English language. While they are not fully Americanized, they are at least to a greater or less degree.

¹ Prof. Commons, *Chaut.*, 28:42; Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9:670.

II. The Forces of Americanization.

The question now to determine is: What is being done to meet this growing difficulty in the problem of Americanization? What are the Americanizing forces? How do they affect the immigrant? Are they the same for all nationalities? Are they the same for the city as for the country? To what extent are they successful with the various nationalities? What forces are doing most to meet the problem?

(a) The School.

The importance of the school as an Americanization force lies chiefly in its effect upon the second generation; yet indirectly it affects the adult immigrant himself,² in as much as his children, consciously and unconsciously, influence him in the same direction. A considerable number of immigrants, also, come as children and can and do attend school.

* * * *

What Does the School Do to Americanize the Immigrant?

The following are some of the main Americanizing activities of the public school:

1. It at once throws the children of different nationalities into mutual relationship. This inevitably breaks up the habits of any one of the foreign nationalities. The next step is, then, to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which practically means the adoption of the American standard. This does not, however, apply to exclusive foreign colonies where schools may consist of a single nationality. In many cases it not only means the forced association of different nationalities, but of an immigrant child with children who are already Americanized. It is evident that in this case, which is the normal one, the immigrant child necessarily loses its foreign ideas and unconsciously adopts the thoughts and activities of the American companions. Even in the so-called foreign colonies, where schools are filled with practically a single nationality, the un-Americanized will be obliged to see the customs of those of their own nationality who are already partly Americanized.

2. The public school teaches the children the English lan-

² U. S. Ind. Com., Vol. 15, p. 475.

guage. This enables them to associate with the various nationalities in their community, even outside of the school.

It is probably necessary that a distinction be drawn here between the country and the city. The testimony is universal that the English language is essential for Americanization in the city. Yet in the country it is quite plain that the English language is not necessary in order to secure a very considerable degree of Americanization. There are many farmers in the northwest who cannot speak English and yet they are acquainted with the American methods of agriculture. There are settlements of Bohemians, Germans and Scandinavians in Wisconsin and Michigan who cannot speak English, but they are Americans in practically every other sense.

3. The public school tends to break up hostility between nationalities. Not only is this the natural consequence of the close association between the children of different nationalities in the school, but the teacher prevents its open appearance and teaches the existence of common interests. Social solidarity is secured.

4. It teaches American traditions and the history of our institutions. This again means a breaking up of race ties and a building up of social solidarity. Under this comes, also, the growth of American patriotism, which, while not important industrially, is a step toward the assimilation of minds and wills.

5. The public school is the first and chief trainer of the immigrant child's mind to fit it for originality and inventiveness. It enlarges the child's capacity.

6. The introduction of machinery makes it essential that labor shift from one kind of work to another. The public school, in training the minds of the children, fits them to meet this versatility in American industry.

7. The American characteristic of aspiration to reach a higher plane of production is transmitted to the immigrant child. This Americanizes the thoughts of the immigrant.

8. Finally, the public school, by the introduction of manual training, not only tends to give the child some idea of American industrial methods, but teaches him that manual work is here the universal rule and is not a stamp of inferiority.

Little need be said of the parochial schools. Opinions differ even as to whether or not they are a positive hindrance to Americanization. It seems, however, that they do something toward assimilation. In many cases they mean the break-up of

foreign nationality by bringing several nationalities into association. At times they bring un-Americanized children into contact with Americanized children. They also teach some of the branches taught in the public schools.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that these church schools often consist of but a single nationality, and that means the strengthening of race ties. Then, too, the church school frequently leads to priest domination, which is the very opposite of original thinking, of inventiveness, of individual ambition and of the participation of the immigrant in industrial, social and political control. Finally, the church school frequently not only hinders the adoption of the English language, but tends to perpetuate foreign languages.

The influence of industrial schools outside of the public school is conceded. "The industrial school plants itself squarely between the tenement and the public school."³ The Americanization is mostly industrial, but aside from this it is much like that of the public school. Evening schools, wherever they do not fail, are to the adult, on a limited scale, what the public school is to the child.

* * * *

(b) *Trade Unionism.*

While the school is the greatest Americanization force for the second generation, it has but an indirect effect upon the adult. The problem of how to induce this adult immigrant to adopt American life is rapidly coming to be a function of trade unionism. Professor Ripley says⁴ "Whatever our judgment is as to the expediency of the industrial policy of our American trade unions, no student of contemporary conditions can deny that they are a mighty factor in affecting the assimilation of our foreign population."

Several limitations must be noted in giving trade unions a relative position among other Americanizing forces. First, their influence is generally limited to the first generation; their effect upon the second generation is much inferior to that of other forces. Second, their influence applies only to the city. Third, their aggregate effect has as yet been of comparatively short duration, as the movement toward the unskilled immigrants is but a recent development.

³ J. A. Riis, "The Children of the Poor," Chap. XII.

⁴ W. Z. Ripley, *At. Mo., Ap.*, 1904, p. 299.

What Does the Union Do to Americanize the Immigrants?

Some of the most important activities in this direction are the following:

1. The union teaches the immigrant self-government. It is the first place where they learn to govern their own activities and to obey officers whom they themselves elect, where each has a vote, and each can state his grievances, not to be remedied by some superior force, as in his native country, but by himself and his fellow-workmen.

2. The union gives the immigrant a sense of common cause, which leads to a sense of public, not merely private, interest.

3. It throws different nationalities into united groups, so that the foreign nationality of any one of them becomes lost. The next step is to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which is Americanization.

4. It often brings foreigners into direct association with members of unions who have already been partly or wholly assimilated. These foreigners then learn to see the difference between the customs of these assimilated workmen and their own.

5. The union usually requires every member to be a citizen of the United States, or to have declared his intention of becoming one.

6. It develops foresight in the immigrant. In fact, the very act of joining a union is an evidence of foresight.⁵

7. It does away with the arbitrary dictation of bosses and employers, and introduces the idea of partial control of the industry by the employee.

8. The union shows the immigrant that he does not hold his "job" solely because of the generosity or personal favor of the employer, but because he has an inherent right to work.

9. It does away with priest rule.

10. It raises the immigrant's wages, reduces his hours and improves his physical working conditions. In other words, it enables him to adopt the American social and moral standard of living.

11. It breaks up hostilities between nationalities. This is not only in itself a step toward Americanization, but is essential before the immigrants can begin to adopt the thoughts and activities of Americans.

⁵ City Wilderness, p. 109.

(c) *Physical Environment and the Presence of American Life.*

Not a little Americanizing influence is exerted by the physical conditions in which the immigrant lives after he arrives in the United States.⁶ Climate, for example, compels a change of dress, manner of living and kind of occupation. Physical environment tends to destroy his old habits and customs, and he adopts in their place American habits and customs, because they are better suited to American physical conditions.

In the beginning of our history, the strongest Americanizing force was "frontier life," which is a form of physical environment. Under its influence the immigrants were transformed so rapidly and silently that there was not until recently such a problem as modern Americanization. This force is, of course, diminishing in importance, but in the country of today there exists something very much like it. Even when immigrants live in colonies, they frequently become Americans, in the first generation."⁷ Still there are no unions in the country, and the schools are inferior to those of the city. Why is it that they Americanize? Quite probably it is because of this force of physical environment in the form of frontier life, slightly modified. These immigrants do not Americanize as rapidly or as completely as they did years ago, but they Americanize in a similar way. It is slower than in the city—but it is permanent. It is the distinguishing feature of Americanization in the country.

In the city it is essential to note the Americanizing influence which is exercised by the mere presence of American life. There is a continual rush of industry. In order to live the immigrant must work largely at American occupations, and this, either through the boss or through competition, compels him to adopt American industrial methods. He sees the American system of government, the American way of living, American activity and American ideals. The difference between them and his own must influence him in the direction of those he sees all about him on the streets and at his work.

The extent to which this Americanizes the immigrant depends partly upon his inherent ability to assimilate. A race which crowds into colonies and avoids other nationalities is not as much affected in this way as one which willingly lives among the

⁶ Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9:439.

⁷ *U. S. Ind. Com.*, 15:500.

people of other countries. But even in such cases this force cannot be disregarded. All nationalities, also, have not as great a sense of observation as the Jew. All are not held back by the same home ties as the Italian. All have not as receptive minds as the Irish, and the intentions of one class are not as favorable as are those of another.

Still, although limited in many ways, the force of physical environment and the presence of American life have an Americanizing influence which should not be disregarded.

(d) *The Church.*

The action of the church as an Americanization force is much like that of the parochial school. It does something to Americanize the immigrant; but, also, in another sense, acts as a hindrance. Its greatest influence is in molding the morals of the immigrant. In a certain sense, also, it acts as a co-ordinating force. Many nationalities comprising the great bulk of immigration belong to the same denomination—the Catholic. So it is with the Italians, the Bohemians, the Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Polanders, and most of the people from southeastern Europe. It is to be noted, however, that the bitterest hatred often exists between these very nationalities who belong to the same denomination. The church, in some instances, tends to bring Americanized immigrants into association with un-Americanized immigrants. It also tends to prevent lawlessness. It informs the immigrant what the new laws are and how they differ from those of his native country. It tells him what the new country expects of him socially, politically, and industrially. Finally, the church does something to obliterate slum conditions, thus not merely raising the immigrant's standard of life, but making it possible for other Americanization forces to permanently affect him.

On the other hand, the church makes possible "priest domination," which is the opposite of American thinking and activity. It tends to perpetuate the foreign language. Then, too, the very fact that in immigrant districts a church often consists of a single nationality, makes possible a hatred between nationalities. Furthermore, the church often works in opposition to the public school, and sometimes in opposition to the union. It frequently enters politics in the objectionable form in which the priest orders

the members of his church to vote for certain men and issues. This is the very opposite of American thought and activity. Finally, the teachings of the church are, in many cases, brought to the United States by the immigrants themselves, and in this way tend to remind men of the past and to perpetuate foreign thoughts and customs.

The extent to which the church reaches the immigrants varies with different churches and nationalities. It is safe to say that the church which most affects them is the Roman Catholic. This is only true, however, because more and more of the immigrants are annually coming from the Catholic countries.

Attendance differs with nationalities. The Italians, for example, care much less for the church in the United States than they did in Italy. On the other hand, the Irish, in as much as they found the church the very bulwark of their liberty at home, remain with it wherever they go; but even they often patronize the public instead of the church school. Other nationalities especially under the influence of the Catholic Church are the Slavs, Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles.

The first generation of the Jews, even more than the Catholic nationalities, are under the influence of the church. They will choose one occupation instead of another in order to attend to their church affairs. But with them there is also a tendency to desert the church after they have been here for some time. One Jew said: "My father prays every day; I pray once a week; my son never prays."⁸

The Protestant churches also exert some influence, but it is not so much among the immigrants of the industrial centers. They affect Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians and those nationalities in general who formerly composed the bulk of immigration. Their influence, wherever it exists at all, is, with some exceptions, more rapid and permanent than in the case of the Jewish and Catholic churches, because they do not offer so much resistance to the introduction of the English language.

(e) *Politics.*

In 1900 56.8 per cent of the foreign born males of voting age in the United States were naturalized, 8.3 per cent had filed their first papers, 14.9 per cent were unknown, and 20 per cent were

⁸ "Americans in Process," p. 272.

aliens.⁹ Thus, politics directly affects considerably more than the majority of the immigrants.

In the past this influence of politics upon the immigrants has done much to assimilate them.¹⁰ Its effect today depends upon its local conditions. On the one hand, in many of the large industrial centers the political "boss" has some control over the immigrant's "job." He orders him to vote for a certain candidate, and the immigrant, through fear of his displeasure, votes as he is told. The ballot, under such conditions, is not an exercise of a right, but of a compulsory order, whose every detail is determined, not by the immigrant, but by the political boss. Such a condition does not mean the participation in government by the multitude, and certainly does not lead to a condition in which the workman will participate in the control of industry. It is the very opposite, for it tells the immigrant that his "job" belongs to him, not because of his right to work, but because of the pleasure of some other person.

On the other hand, in the case of those immigrants who are not in the power of the political boss of the immigrant colonies, politics is one of the most striking differences between American life and life in their native country. When they vote it is an expression of their will, and inevitably spurs them on to learn how to express that will more intelligently. It tells them that they are part of society; that they have a voice in the control of their actions, and that their interests are not merely private, but are public. Every important step in our political system, to them, means further adoption of American life.

(f) *Miscellaneous Forces.*

The *press* acts as an Americanization force in the case of some immigrants. It does little, however, to assimilate those non-English-speaking nationalities who are becoming most important as immigrants. The constant opposition of some newspapers against such immigrants as the Italians, Poles and Hungarians is likely to cause hostility between these immigrants and the Americans. Furthermore, the English press, in the case of these immigrants, can reach directly only the second generation, as in most instances the first generation cannot read the English lan-

⁹ U. S. Census on Pop., 1900.

¹⁰ Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9:665.

guage. There are some papers printed in the languages of these people, however, and these, while handicapped by the very language which they use, often convey American principles to the foreigners. Some of them discuss political, social and economic issues much as English papers do, and in this way tend to change the immigrant's thought and activity.

In the case of those nationalities who speak English and those who are welcomed to the United States by the newspapers, such as the English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Germans, and Scandinavians, the English press acts as an assimilator. Yet even here it must be noted that many of the papers are ruled by the same spirit which dominates politics in some of the industrial centers.

Little need be said of *books* and *libraries*.^{*} They tend to assimilate certain classes of immigrants, but they do not reach those who are hardest to assimilate and those who need it most.

Private immigrant aid societies, also, need but be mentioned. Only when more of them have been formed and when they have operated for some time can their real value be ascertained.

Municipal governments are, also, beginning to undertake activities which tend to assimilate the immigrants, at least from the social standpoint. They prevent unsanitary tenement houses, thus forcing a change in the home life of some of the immigrants and improving their social condition. They introduce public playgrounds, which tend to throw the children of the immigrants into association with other children. They establish baths, they minimize drunkenness and make efforts to prevent pauperism. All this aids in the movement of assimilation.

The *theaters*,¹¹ *popular amusements*,¹¹ "*boys' clubs*," *private societies* of various kinds, even *American slang* and the street life which prevails in the large cities, all act as assimilators. There is no more potent factor in the lives of some of the immigrant children than the influences which they meet on the streets.

Finally, it is necessary to consider, briefly, the activity of the *employer* as an Americanizer. In this respect, employers must be considered as individuals and not as a class, for many care nothing about Americanization, and others actually oppose it. Some of them, however, voluntarily give their workmen high wages, reasonable hours, and good physical and sanitary conditions of

^{*} This statement should now be modified in view of the recent wide extension of library activities for foreigners.—[Editor.]

¹¹ Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9:653.

labor. In this way employers enable the immigrant to adopt the American standard of life, at least in the economic field. Again, in many instances employers have adopted the factory in preference to the sweatshop. The factory takes the immigrant out of his home and compels him to work with other workmen, many of whom are already Americanized and of different nationalities. Sometimes employers purposely employ men of different nationalities to prevent clannishness. Besides, the factory system is in itself a revelation to the immigrant from southern Europe. It means the compulsory adoption of American methods.

III. Conclusion.

The problem of the Americanization of the immigrant is very huge in proportion, and is becoming increasingly complex. The number of immigrants, together with the population of foreign parentage, might seem threatening to Americanism. This large bulk is annually increasing, and a greater and greater proportion of the increase each year consists of nationalities who are inherently more difficult to Americanize than were the immigrants of the past.

But, however rapidly the difficulties of Americanization may be increasing, the efficiency and activity of the forces of Americanization are increasing even more rapidly. The most promising field for Americanization is with the second generation, and it is here that the public school stands pre-eminent. The chief hope of Americanizing the adult immigrant lies with trade unionism, whose rapid adoption of Americanization as a function is applauded even by those who condemn most of its policies. Physical environment, the church, politics, the employer, and also numerous miscellaneous forces exert an Americanizing influence to a greater or less degree.

New forces are being developed; old methods are, with some exceptions, being increasingly perfected. The problem, both in its increasing scope and complexity, is being met by the forces of Americanization.

SOME AMERICAN EFFORTS AT IMMIGRANT
LEADERSHIP

ARCHIBALD McCLURE

STUDENT OF ALIEN PEOPLES. ANALYST OF AMERICANIZATION.

What are some of these efforts at American leadership and what is their effect on the immigrant people?

Public Efforts

The first touch which the immigrant has with the United States is with our Federal government through its men and equipment at the immigration ports of entry. This introduction to the United States is quite different from the first glimpse that a native born American has of his country. The government is for most of us one of the last things with which we have any necessary dealings; with the immigrants it is the first. Much depends, therefore, on the first impression which will be gained largely through the personal treatment given by the officials at Ellis Island, Angel Island, at Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and the other ports of entry. Year by year the government is making conditions at these places more attractive. Due to the efforts of some of the men in the immigration service constant attempts are being made to give Ellis Island less the appearance of a prison, and more that of a place of hospitality and courtesy. Inadequate as its facilities will be if, after the war, immigration again soars up toward a million mark, it will yet be giving the strangers a less annoying welcome than was the case some years ago. The great hospitals, the provision of "kosher" meals for the Hebrew newcomers, the opportunities for play provided for those who are detained at the island, the Sunday afternoon concerts, are simply signs to the immigrant that the government is not a mere machine, but has a heart in its work as well.

Although a commissioner of immigration on the Pacific Coast believes that the Chinese exclusion law was the best law Congress ever passed, and though he says he is racking his brain to think of ways in which to keep the Chinese out of the country, quite a different spirit is manifested by the commissioner at

Ellis Island. He turns his attention to efforts to make the treatment of the immigrants by the government as humanitarian and democratic as possible. Thus the personnel of the immigration service often gives a different first impression of America to different immigrants.

But after the immigrant has left Ellis Island the Federal government has done almost nothing for him, though Commissioner Howe says it is going to try to do more. So far its constructive efforts beyond the walls of the immigrant stations have been centred about a distributing bureau, originally formed in 1907, and given larger scope in 1914. Whereas the purpose of this Federal bureau, known as the Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration, U. S. Department of Labor, was to distribute the new immigrants as far as possible to the farm and country districts, in actual practice the bureau has turned out to be a great Federal employment agency, which in 1915 found places for 11,871 applicants. This bureau, as yet hardly known to most Americans, has distributing branches in 18 cities, with sub-branches in more than 60 other centres, and is fast becoming an important cog in the employment machinery of the country. In 1915 it had 90,119 applicants for positions.

Through the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor the Federal government is also keeping in touch with its future citizens. This bureau has administrative authority over all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens. By co-operating with the public schools of the whole country, by providing an outline course in citizenship, and by keeping record of the educational opportunities of all immigrants it is securing a more systematic provision for all immigrants to learn English and become citizens.

Thus it is as a reception committee, as an employment committee and as an educational committee that the Federal government exercises the functions of leadership among the immigrants.

Among the States, California is at present one of the few which is tackling the immigrant proposition in a big, constructive way, with a permanent "Immigration Commission." Massachusetts, New York and other states have had "Immigration Commissions" of one or more years' duration, but, having made their investigations and reports, most of these commissions have gone out of existence. As a result of the work of her commis-

sion, New York State established a Bureau of Industries and Immigration in 1910. Other states, such as Wisconsin, have at times had immigration commissions whose main purpose was merely to attract immigrants to that particular state. No attempts were made, after getting the immigrants to their states, to do anything for them.

But as one of the members of the California Commission said, "California has the only good State commission." Appointed in 1913 as the "Commission of Immigration and Housing in California," it consists of five members. Including a Roman Catholic bishop, a Presbyterian minister, the secretary of the California Federation of Labor, and a woman, it represents a variety of religious and economic interests. The list of contents of its second annual report in January, 1916, gives a clue to its activities: Labor Camp Inspection, Bureau of Complaints, Immigrant Education, Housing, Constructive Housing, Distribution of Immigrants, Unemployment, Legislation. Having discovered that over one-half of the inhabitants of labor camps in California were immigrants, it attacked, and helped immediately to better, many of the labor camp conditions. It has published leaflets for the education of the immigrant, drawn up plans for model buildings for camps, and actually secured the erection of such buildings in construction camps.

But most interesting of all is the plan it has worked out for solving the problem of "home education" for immigrant women. Realizing that the public schools are for the whole family, and that previously "we have reached out for every member of the family except the mother," the California Commission is taking the next logical step—"to educate the mother." Briefly the plan is this—to have a few well-qualified women teachers go to the homes of the immigrant women, each teacher using a school as her headquarters; to visit, teach English, domestic science, sewing and sanitation, and make the immigrant women feel the personal interest of the school and teacher in them. It is felt that if the mothers are to learn American home standards and ideals the teacher must go to them. This is the first statewide attempt to use home teachers or "going-about women," as the American Indians have been accustomed to call such teachers; and while the plan is still in its beginning it bids fair to be a far-reaching constructive effort to reach the immigrant home. Thus one state is taking the lead in an endeavour to meet the present

situation and to be ready for any future immigration emergencies.

The need of some such form of state leadership is brought home to us again and again, especially by such misfortunes as the failing of four private banks in immigrant communities in Chicago in the summer of 1916. Without attempts by the state governments to protect the trusting immigrants from such illegitimate banking concerns, and to provide housing laws, such as are needed in New Jersey to enable local health authorities in its immigrant-laden industrial cities to protect them from the exploitation of careless landlords, there is bound to be little State loyalty among our immigrants. At present California and New York seem to be taking up the leadership in state-wide work for immigrant welfare.

When we turn to see what our cities are doing for their foreign-speaking population the outlook seems more encouraging. City after city recently has taken cognizance of its duties in this line and is making a serious effort to tackle its job. Being closer to the immigrant than is the State, and having a more unified problem, the city can undertake its task more definitely. One of the first cities to undertake this work was Cleveland. There a City Immigration Bureau was started as a part of the department of Public Welfare. "The City of Cleveland maintains this Bureau for the benefit of all immigrants coming from foreign countries. It assists those who intend to settle here and desire to become good American citizens. It gives you information and advice entirely free with reference to citizenship papers, employment, and other important matters," reads one of its publications. Its activities include depot work, where a city immigration officer meets and assists newcomers when the tide of immigration is high; divisions of employment, education, citizenship, information and complaints, publicity and publications. It prints in nine languages small guide books of the city telling of its schools, English classes, social settlements, banks and baths; and prints a very useful "Citizenship Manual for Cleveland, Ohio." It has joined with other organizations in a celebration of Americanization Day by giving a public reception to newly naturalized citizens.

In ways such as these cities as cities are more and more beginning to take an interest in their own foreign-speaking inhabitants. Detroit, Rochester, New York, Chicago and many other

cities are arousing their civic conscience on this subject and are seizing their opportunities.

That there is need of cities of every size the country over doing something along these lines is well illustrated by the attitude of a small but prominent residential suburb of Chicago. For three years it had a constantly increasing immigrant population which soon numbered over 200. But the city did nothing for them. Almost none of them could speak English, yet there were no classes provided to teach them. The only dealing the city had with these immigrant people was through its police department, which had to make frequent visits to the immigrant boarding houses to enforce the sanitation and housing laws, and to arrest those who had imbibed too much of the liquor brought in by beer wagons to this "dry" town. At the city clerk's office were no records of the numbers or nationalities of the city's immigrant population. In response to a letter written to him concerning these immigrants, who happened to be largely Roumanians from Hungary, the city clerk replied, speaking of them as "Lithuanians," though there is as great a racial difference between these two peoples as between any two races in all Europe. This shows merely one of the ways in which even in the year 1916 many cities have neglected to care for their immigrant population.

While in some places there is good city leadership among the immigrants, and total lack of city leadership in other places, there is also much unfortunate city leadership. This usually is due to the activities of the politicians and the lack of activities of the police. Many of our local politicians have been men of Irish extraction whose respect for the niceties of moral honor and political sincerity have impressed the immigrants more by their absence than by their presence. So much so that there is a rather surprising but almost universal dislike of the Irish among every one of our immigrant nationalities. An Italian professor of immigration and economics in New York University questioned in his mind, "Why is it that only the unscrupulous and not the best citizens have been in ward politics?" It has been mainly through these petty politicians that many an immigrant has had his only contact with American life and citizenship—and it has not always been helpful.

Unbelievable, too, are stories that are told of the treatment of the immigrants by the police. The ignorance of the for-

eigner, combined with the authority and hard-heartedness on the part of the individual police, have made their leadership hated and contemptible to many of our newcomers.

It is time, therefore, that every city had its municipal consciousness aroused to providing helpful, constructive leadership to her immigrant population, instead of the repressive, unscrupulous leadership so often afforded by the police and politicians.

There are two other institutions of a "public" nature that are making progress in caring for our immigrants. One is the public library. In Homestead, Pennsylvania, where one is in the heart of the immigrant industrial population, the Carnegie Library stands on a prominent terrace overlooking the city. Here a splendid attempt is being made to have the library useful to the immigrant population as well as to the native Americans. It provides a night school class in the English language, and sometimes gives outdoor picture shows in the "foreign" ward. So far back as 1912 it reported books in "Hungarian, Slovak, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Polish, German, French and Italian"; that "two-thirds of the children that use Juvenile room are of foreign birth"; that 11 out of 41 events in the Music Hall were given by foreigners; and that "among the literary and study clubs are the Slovak American Literary Club with 90 or more members, the Hungarian Self Culture Society of equal size, the Greek Catholic Dramatic Club with a membership of 25, and the Slavok Citizens Club with 40 members." Its splendid equipment as a social centre building makes possible many of its activities, which are suggestive of what any library may attempt.

The Portland, Oregon, Public Library has adopted an interesting method of reaching the immigrant population. Each month it secures a list of the men who have taken out their "first papers" for citizenship, and sends to each of them a personal letter telling the location of the library, offering to aid them with books on "citizenship," and mentioning that magazines, papers, and books in many foreign languages are to be found there.

At Seattle one of the librarians has gone in person to many of the night school classes to invite the men to the library. Lists of books in their language were sent to various foreign societies, a list of "Graded Readings" from the simpler to the higher forms of English literature, and a list of books of which the library contains both an English and a foreign translation have

been made. While sometimes it is difficult to know what books to secure in these foreign languages, as in the case of some Croatian books asked for by a Croatian society, "to educate their people" in Seattle, and never used except once by the members of the society itself, yet public libraries can often supplement the work of other organizations in a way very helpful to the immigrant.

The Webster Branch of the New York City Public Library devotes one entire floor of its three-story building to a Bohemian department. Here, under a capable Bohemian librarian, it has 7,000 Bohemian volumes, a great variety of Bohemian magazines and newspapers, and a collection of Bohemian music. At times it gives exhibitions of Bohemian art and embroidery, while a committee of Bohemians helps in the selection of the books. Such a national department is possible only in the larger cities where one can find large colonies of one nationality in one locality, but it is very suggestive of the educational leadership the libraries are trying to afford.

Last but not least of public factors in immigrant leadership—in fact the most important and most indispensable factor in the unification of all our immigrant population—is the public school. We take its work so much as a matter of course that we often fail to grasp the tremendous influence it has in moulding "all comers" into potential Americans. It in itself is largely the reason that English eventually supplants all the mother tongues of Europe in the life of her children in America. In many of the New York City schools one looks in vain for a child whose American ancestry is even one generation old. At one school 90 per cent of the children are Italians; at another, one can go into a class where Bohemians and Hungarians predominate, and only a smattering of Irish and English are to be found. However, in the school it is hard to differentiate between the children. They are all alike, just "kids," whether they are Bohemian or Hungarian, Italian, or Russian. The principal of a school will often say that he can not tell which nationality is the brighter for "They are all alike—just boys; some good, some dull."

It is really inspiring to have an opportunity to visit one of these big city schools to see with what orderliness and efficiency the whole day goes on, the confidence with which the teachers do their work, and the healthy American training they give the

children. The drill in the use of English grammar and the class in American history are potent factors in the day's work. The influence of the schools is largely the result of their steady, daily, yearly teaching and atmosphere. They turn out Americans, who in turn help to make their homes American in spirit, and thus the school influence pervades the community.

In addition to this regular school work, there are public schools, such as the one with the Gary system in The Bronx, New York City, which take some active interest in the community and endeavour to make the school the centre of interest, entertainment, education and progress for a whole neighborhood. Playgrounds, gardens, joint efforts to eliminate neighborhood gangs of "rowdies," club meetings, lectures and concerts have made this school, under the leadership of an Italian principal, the biggest factor in a great Italian section of the city.

The great spread of the movement for teaching English to the immigrants has brought the schools new opportunities. In Paterson, in the winter of 1915-16 there were 12 classes held, 4 nights a week for 16 weeks with over 375 pupils, men and women. Here was a personal contact of the schools with the immigrants, of the teachers with the immigrants. In Rochester immigrant training was begun and carried on by the Board of Education, which established a special department of immigrant education. During the past year it has had 2,500 on its lists for these classes. Los Angeles has awakened to its possibilities and her schools are very active in their work of teaching English.

That there has been need of an awakening of this kind by school boards is evidenced by the refusal of a school board in a West Virginia town to let one of its rooms be used by an American woman to teach English at night, though the schools were not themselves doing any work of this kind. Again, two years ago, some Poles in a New Jersey city offered to secure and pay for a teacher of English if the school board would only let them use a room at night. But the board refused because of the extra cost for light, heat and janitor service.

On the whole, however, the public schools are doing more for the advancement of the immigrant population than any other agency in the country. They are effective leaders.

Private Efforts

The increase on the part of large business concerns of the general "welfare" work among their employes, and the aroused

interest in the immigrants due to the "hyphen" hysteria of the last year have resulted in fresh activity by business houses in behalf of their immigrant employees. In Detroit the Board of Commerce in August and September of 1915 conducted a large campaign of "Americanization" which resulted in an increase in the night school registration of 153 per cent. Many unique methods were put into use, such as inserting slips about the night schools in the pay envelopes of the men, providing rooms in the shops for classes in English, and urging the great industries of the city to give a preference in promoting workmen to those who had become citizens. Thus the immigrant workmen have come to feel that "big business" has some interest in them and is trying to lead them somewhere.

The Pennsylvania Railroad recently established a young Italian, a graduate of Yale University, at the head of work among the 10,000 Italian men employed on their lines. He has now 3,000 Italians in educational work by means of correspondence lessons; he has prepared an Italian-English Naturalization booklet; he seeks to have them become citizens; advises with them on investing their earnings, and goes among them to try and counteract the effect of occasional I. W. W. agitators and settle labor misunderstandings.

In such ways "big business" is beginning to have more a place of leadership as it takes a keener interest in the immigrant employees as men, rather than as mere business units.

Coming down a little closer to the immigrant himself, we find that among workmen the labor unions have since 1900 become more and more important. As the American Federation of Labor has no statistics in regard to the nationality of the membership in the organizations affiliated with it, it is difficult to know exactly how strong its influence is among the immigrant nationalities. In the anthracite region of Pennsylvania the miners are well organized and nearly all the men are union members. In some of these coal mining districts the union "locals" are organized largely along national lines—a Ruthenian local, a Polish local, a Slovak local—but this is not true as a general rule throughout the country. The feature of the unions and other labor organizations which has made them factors in welding together the interests of members with varying European ancestry has been that in these unions all have been brought

together on the common ground of an American need for better working and living conditions.

Yet much of the unskilled labor of the country, which is largely composed of the immigrants, is altogether unorganized. Thus in Passaic, New Jersey, there is practically no labor organization, for a large percentage of its industrial workers are unskilled. The labor unions, except in certain industries, have not been in as close touch with the immigrants as one would have expected. One reason seems to be that union organization has been rather among skilled labor than among the unskilled, while the immigrants largely make up our unskilled labor forces. Another reason has been the occasional race discrimination shown by the unions against the Italians, as well as against the Chinese and Japanese. This has caused friction between the immigrants and the unions.

In teaching the English language and in arousing the desire for a better economic condition among its immigrant members the labor union has exercised an educational leadership over our immigrant population. But it is doubtful if its influence has been as great as its numbers would lead one to suspect.

When we turn from business and labor to the field of religion we find that the American churches have begun to realize the demands upon them of the immigrant population. The immigrant may feel this at Ellis Island, where the churches vie with the government in giving the newcomers their first contact with America. There are now at the Island twenty-five missionaries and workers representing some thirteen evangelical denominations, distributing literature, investigating individual cases and rendering assistance to many a bewildered recent arrival.

Nearly all the great Protestant church bodies have a department for the supervision of immigrant work. Through pastors, either native or foreign born, who speak both English and some immigrant tongue, through English lessons, clubs and settlements they are attempting to meet the situation. Since they have taken up this work so recently they have not as yet had a very great influence on our immigrant population as a whole. But as the years go by their increasing efforts and their broader plans are sure to exert a constantly growing influence on the minds and hearts of our immigrant population.

One of the most active forces at work among our "foreign-

ers" is the Y. M. C. A. It has an immigration secretary in many of our large cities. Its labors have been largely of two kinds—depot work, meeting immigrants at railroad stations in order to direct them safely to their destinations; and classes in teaching English. During these last two years, due to the decrease in immigration, their depot work has practically ceased, while the need for English classes has also somewhat abated. But the Y. M. C. A. continues to serve the immigrants through lectures, moving pictures, and other means of education.

One interesting phase of their work has been the way in which they have aroused interest among college men in such work. This collegiate touch with the immigrant has been largely through English classes. In 1915-1916, after seven years, the Y. M. C. A. had secured the assistance of 4,000 workers in 250 colleges, with 100,000 foreigners directly affected. This work has been of inestimable value.

The Y. W. C. A. carries on its immigration work through what it calls "The International Institutes." It is doing more for our immigrant women than any other one organization—teaching English, having girls' clubs, doing friendly visiting. In New York City it has one club of sixty Greek girls, a rather unique organization because until lately there have been so few Greek girls in this country. In Los Angeles they use as headquarters a house in the Russian section of the city where they have club meetings, sewing classes and English classes. In such ways the Y. W. C. A. is endeavouring to care for those most neglected of all our immigrant population—the women and mothers.

There are numerous other efforts put forth on behalf of the immigrants by private organizations. In Chicago is the Immigrants' Protective League under the efficient management of Miss Grace Abbott. As you enter its office you find a sign of information in ten languages; when you reach the office you discover that they have seven or eight investigators and workers of as many different nationalities. A purely voluntary organization, it renders station help, looks up individual cases of need and every year tries to study some particular phase of the immigration situation in Chicago. Thus in early 1916, after a study of the conditions among the Greek bootblacks, the attention of the American Federation of Labor was called to their unfortunate conditions and an effort made to unionize them.

Later a study was made of the cases of those who had dropped out of the night school English classes, in order that suggestions might be made to the Board of Education for stopping this leakage.

The National Americanization Committee of New York City, with Miss Frances Kellor at its head, has as its purpose the Americanization of the immigrants. It endeavors to be a standardizing agency, or clearing house of information, for all work among immigrants. When any one wants to know how to go about solving some immigrant community problem this Committee will furnish information as to how to do it, and sometimes furnish practical assistance in doing it as well. Thus they sent down a doctor to Hopewell, Virginia, to assist in the work there at the time of the great fire in the spring of 1916. Besides the work of furthering classes in English and civics, co-operating with Chambers of Commerce (as they did in the recent Detroit campaign), and working through national societies such as the Polish National Alliance, they are endeavouring to arouse interest among American people in the immigrant situation.

To meet the need expressed by a member of the California Immigration Commission, who said, "I think the American people need to be awakened on this subject," the Americanization Committee, in conjunction with "The Committee for Immigrants in America," publishes quarterly *The Immigrants in America Review*,* holds conferences and is carrying on an extensive educational campaign throughout the whole country.

Yet again such organizations as the Colonial Dames, which prints a "Primer of Civics" in three or four immigrant languages; the Sons of the American Revolution with its pamphlet, "Information for Immigrants concerning the United States"; the Naturalization Education Company of Pittsburg with its "Naturalization Instructions" in nine languages, and many other societies are coming forward with a new interest in our immigrant population.

Here and there our American newspapers are taking cognizance of the opportunity for them to serve our immigrant people. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and the Pittsburg *Post* every day have a "Cosmopolitan" page on which news of interest to the different nationalities of these cities is given. In this way the American community has a fresh chance to become acquainted with the thought and life of the immigrant Americans,

* Six issues were published, beginning January, 1915. [Editor].

while the immigrants themselves feel that they are at last receiving some of the notice they deserve. By such means as this, or by columns in various foreign languages such as the Italian column of one of the New York City daily papers, the American press is beginning to get in touch with the immigrant people.

Along with the work of many settlements and other organizations the country over, these are some of the efforts, both public and private, at American leadership of the immigrant. While so many of these attempts at American leadership approach the immigrants through the idea of "Americanizing" them, it must be remembered, as Miss Balch says, that you cannot force Americanization on the immigrants. Helpful as all these efforts are, the ones which have in them the added feature of personal, individual interest and sympathy with the individual immigrant are the ones whose leadership is most effective, and whose efforts are bound to be the most useful.

Training For Protestant Religious Leadership

The older type of leader holds his own among the adult and more ignorant immigrants, but among the younger people leaders with new and progressive ideas are coming into prominence. American ideals of democracy, freedom and education, and American labor conditions are casting the immigrant's mind in new moulds into which the old country leaders do not fit. More and more each nationality is demanding in its leaders intelligence, education and acquaintance with social conditions.

What sort of leaders has the Protestant church in America furnished to our immigrants? Are they of the old order or the new? This is an important consideration, for Prof. Steiner has well said, "The one institution in America most gravely concerned with the coming and staying of the immigrant is the Protestant church." The leadership which the Protestant church furnishes will in large measure affect the future of our country. If it is wise, strong, and constructive these immigrants, who are the future Americans, will accept and practise the principles of Christ; if it is weak, narrow and unintelligent, spiritual truth will not find believers among our next generation.

The strength of the Protestant church leadership so far provided the immigrants has lain in the personalities of certain individual pastors. Where men of forceful character have gone

into an immigrant community, their influence has been great. Such is an Italian pastor in New York City of whom an American minister said that he was perhaps the outstanding leader among the Italians of his neighbourhood. Born to command, unafraid of any kind of opposition (and he has encountered every kind), he is full of common sense and personal magnetism. Still another example is a Hungarian Protestant pastor in one of Ohio's industrial cities, who because of his powerful personality has made himself almost a "pope" among his people. These men are men of combined character and education.

On the other hand, the weakness of Protestant church work among the immigrants has usually been in the lack of training of its pastors. In their anxiety to send workers among the foreign population of the country the churches have sometimes manned fields with foreign-speaking pastors poorly educated, or poorly trained in an understanding of American Protestant Christianity. Ex-Roman Catholic priests, and men whose meagre education prevented them from grasping the problems they had to face, have thus oftentimes retarded the spread of American evangelical Christianity among the immigrants. These men must necessarily fall by the wayside when they face the intelligent, progressive minds of the new leaders among the younger immigrant generation, with all their knowledge of social welfare and unrest.

Henceforth Protestant religious leaders must be well trained for dealing with our immigrant situation. Leaders are born, not made, since the pre-eminent qualification for leadership is personality; and you cannot make personality; like Topsy, "it just grows." But men can be developed to assume positions of leadership by being trained to see the direction in which the paths of progress lead. By having these paths pointed out, and by learning how to lead their people into them, men may become successful in arousing a response from people of their own nationality. It is in such ways that the qualities of leadership must be developed among those who are to be engaged in Protestant religious work among the foreign-speaking people of the United States.

In doing this work one of three types of people is required—either a foreign-born pastor who knows English (including in this group those of foreign blood born in America), or an American, native by birth and blood, who knows a foreign

tongue or perhaps is associated with a foreign-speaking worker. At present both types of leader is needed.

Of course the work done in the foreign languages among our immigrant people is, and always must be, a transitional work. It will be necessary only so long as the arrival of new immigrants keeps up. If immigration were absolutely prohibited from now on, after some twenty-five years all work among our population of foreign blood could be carried on in English, for all would understand English, and the older generation of foreign-born would have passed off the scene of action. But now, and until some twenty-five years after the last immigrant has reached our shores, the use of the native tongue in work among our new citizens will be necessary.

There is question as to the type of worker best suited to this task. The foreign-born worker has the advantage of an intelligent knowledge of the language and customs of his own people, and is best prepared to understand them. Yet he often has but a general knowledge of English, and is apt to retain a foreign accent all his life. Whereas he is best suited to reach the adult immigrants he is sometimes not so successful among the children, who, educated in our public schools, are apt to think themselves better than the man who cannot speak English without an accent. Again, he does not always fully understand American ideals or American evangelical Christianity.

A native-born American has the advantage of understanding clearly our language, customs, and ideas, and with the children he does not need to know any language except English. But when he comes to dealing with the parents, he is under a handicap unless he knows their language. Even then he is apt always to have an incorrect accent in speaking the foreign tongue.

The third type is composed of those who, though born or entirely educated in America, are yet the sons of immigrants. Sometimes such men combine both the good qualities of the other two types; sometimes they have the weaknesses of both. In the one case they are the best possible men to meet the situation; in the other case they need much training to insure their usefulness. Such, are the Italian or Ruthenian young men brought up in Italian or Ruthenian neighborhoods, where only Italian or Ruthenian is spoken at home or on the streets, and whose American schooling has gone no further than the eighth grade. They will often speak both English and their mother

tongue incorrectly because of their environment, where there has been little opportunity to hear either language well spoken. In consequence, they are ill equipped for positions of leadership among either Italians, Ruthenians or Americans.

The theological training which one needs for effective work among the immigrants is entirely subordinate to the prime requisite of personal character. This must be the first and necessary qualification. In the past twenty years, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there have been so many failures in this respect that the churches must give great attention to this point. Particular care should be taken in the case of men who seek church work as ex-Catholic priests converted to Protestantism. There have been cases where men with bad records in the Roman church have become apparently converted to Protestantism; the Protestants have used their voices to raise thanksgivings to Heaven for these conversions, without using their eyes and ears to search out the truth of the facts in every case. The existence of even a few such instances is sufficient to emphasize the necessity for Christlike character on the part of all immigrant religious workers.

Then, too, in Europe even Protestantism and its ministers differ from Protestantism and its ministers in America. In Hungary, where there are several million Protestants, Protestantism has become to a large extent a mere form, empty of the meaning of daily brotherhood. American Protestants must remember this in dealing with some of the Slovak and Magyar Protestants of our immigrant population, who with their old country ways have not thought drinking and dancing inconsistent accompaniments of church socials.

Foreign-speaking Immigrant Religious Leaders

What opportunities are at present offered for the training of these men of foreign birth or parentage who wish to give themselves to religious work among our Southern European immigrant population?

The Congregational Church has a Slavic department at Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. Here, under the supervision of a Bohemian professor, there were in the year 1915-1916 four Bohemian and four Slovak students for the ministry. Students are accepted who have had a high school course or its equivalent, and a three year theological course is given them.

The instruction is partly in English, partly in Bohemian, in order that the men may be well trained in each language. While the prerequisites of this course are not high, the work it does is thorough, and the contact of the Slavic students with the American college and seminary students is advantageous.

At Berea, Ohio, the Methodist Church has also a Slavic department in the Baldwin-Wallace College and Nast Theological Seminary, in which during the winter of 1915-16 there were over twenty immigrant students—most of whom were Bohemians and Slovaks. As at Oberlin, this department is under the supervision of a Slavic professor. A high school course, or its equivalent, is required of these Slavic students if they are to take the full theological course of three years. The fact that this seminary is composed of students largely for the German ministry makes the atmosphere with which the Slavic students are surrounded less definitely American than at such an institution as Oberlin.

The Baptists have approached the question of religious training more along the line of nationality. Thus in Brooklyn they have for the training of Italian Baptist ministers the Italian department of Colgate Theological Seminary. In 1915-16 the Italian professor in charge had twelve students who lived in the mission house of an Italian Baptist church. The students thus had no contact with American student life. The course is a three-year one, along theological lines, no especial educational equipment being demanded as a prerequisite of entrance. Three Italian ministers and one American woman compose the faculty.

In Cleveland the Baptists have a separate Hungarian training school, where in 1915-16 there were ten students under the instruction of two Hungarian ministers and one American woman. A four year course is given, the classes meeting in the rear room of the Hungarian church. The preparation of most of these students previous to beginning their course had been only equivalent to a grade school education.

In Chicago is the Slavic Baptist Training School. Here, under a Polish and a Bohemian pastor, about twenty Polish, Ruthenian, Bohemian and Slovak young men have begun courses varying in length from three to six years. The dormitories and classrooms are simply rooms in the Bohemian Baptist church. The students previous to entering this school have had but little education.

Each of these Baptist schools is small, each has meagre equipment in the line of dormitory and class room facilities. In each the lack of a sufficient faculty, of touch with American life, of a thorough educational training is evident. Yet each is striving to grow in efficiency and ability to meet the demands of the situation.

At Bloomfield, New Jersey, and at Dubuque, Iowa, the Presbyterian Church has institutions which now provide academy, college, and theological seminary training for students of many immigrant nationalities. Originally founded to train men for work among our German speaking immigrants, in response to the demand of the new immigration, these schools have become cosmopolitan institutions. In equipment and size they outstrip the provision made by any other denomination for its immigrant workers. Each has buildings and campus of its own, and a large faculty. Thus Bloomfield Theological Seminary in 1915-16 had some ninety students distributed about as follows: twenty-five Hungarians, sixteen Italians, fifteen Russians, fifteen Ruthenians, ten Germans, seven Poles, one American, and one Roumanian Jew. The Hungarians, Italians, Ruthenians, Russians, Germans and Poles each have a professor who teaches their native language, literature and history, and has general charge of the students of his own nationality.

Leadership of the New America; racial and religious, p. 257 seq. New York, George H. Doran Co., 1916.

SCHOOLS

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

JOHN DEWEY

EDUCATOR, PHILOSOPHER, WORLD-THINKER

It is fatal for a democracy to permit the formation of fixed classes. Differences of wealth, the existence of large masses of unskilled laborers, contempt for work with the hands, inability to secure the training which enables one to forge ahead in life, all operate to produce classes, and to widen the gulf between them. Statesmen and legislation can do something to combat these evil forces. Wise philanthropy can do something. But the only fundamental agency for good is the public school system. Every American is proud of what has been accomplished in the past in fostering among very diverse elements of population a spirit of unity and of brotherhood so that the sense of common interests and aims has prevailed over the strong forces working to divide our people into classes. The increasing complexity of our life, with the great accumulation of wealth at one social extreme and the condition of almost dire necessity at the other makes the task of democracy constantly more difficult. The days are rapidly passing when the simple provision of a school system in which all individuals mingle is enough to meet the need. The subject-matter and the methods of teaching must be positively and aggressively adapted to the end.

There must not be one system for the children of parents who have more leisure and another for the children of those who are wage-earners. The physical separation forced by such a scheme, while unfavorable to the development of a proper mutual sympathy, is the least of its evils. Worse is the fact that the over bookish education for some and the over "practical" education for others brings about a division of mental and moral habits, ideals, and outlook.

The academic education turns out future citizens with no sympathy for work done with the hands, and with absolutely no training for understanding the most serious of present day

social and political difficulties. The trade training will turn out future workers who may have greater immediate skill than they would have had without their training, but who have no enlargement of mind, no insight into the scientific and social significance of the work they do, no education which assists them in finding their way on or in making their own adjustments. A division of the public school system into one part which pursues traditional methods, with incidental improvements, and another which deals with those who are to go into manual labor means a plan of social predestination totally foreign to the spirit of a democracy.

The democracy which proclaims equality of opportunity as its ideal requires an education in which learning and social application, ideas and practice, work and recognition of the meaning of what is done, are united from the beginning and for all. Such schools—the Schools of Tomorrow—are rapidly coming into being in large numbers, and are showing how the ideal of equal opportunity for all is to be transmuted into reality.

Schools of Tomorrow, pp. 313-16. New York, E. P. Dutton & co, 1915.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

JOHN T. BUCHANAN

EDUCATOR, ORGANIZER OF SCHOOLS

Education will solve every problem of our national life, even that of assimilating our foreign element. The ameliorating effects of general education would be evident in a decade in every manifestation of social life. Knowledge is light, and evil dies in the light. Ignorance is the mother of anarchy, poverty and crime. The nation has a right to demand intelligence and virtue of every citizen, and to obtain these by force if necessary. Compulsory education we must have as a safeguard for our institutions. What other element of our country's progress is so important? In the language of the principles set forth by the National Educational Association, let me say that the progress and happiness of a people are in direct ratio to the universality of education. A free people must be developed by free schools. History records that the stability of a nation depends upon the virtue

and intelligence of the individuals composing it. The child has the same right to be protected by law from ignorance as from abuse, neglect or hunger.

We have said that the younger generation of immigrants can be reached by education. But this education must be compulsory. For, while these people are usually thrifty they are often lacking in foresight; and the manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the telegraph company and many others that employ help offer a thousand inducements here to the boy and girl to earn a dollar, even if it be at the risk of losing a chance of going to school. It is a strange fact that some of the foreigners whose country is known for the general, thorough education which it bestows upon all its children are those who are most inclined to reject all the inducements of our public-school system, and to allow, nay to urge, their children to stay away from school, that they may earn money at an age when they ought to be interested in books. And yet compulsory education in this country is to a great extent a far easier matter than it proves to be in European countries—no tuition fees; in many places free books and school supplies; all people treated alike; no distinction between the masses and the classes.

What does compulsory education carry with it? (1) The pupil's very association with intellectual and honorable men and women tends to inspire toward higher standards of living. The children soon find themselves in wider horizons of thought. (2) It brings children of all ranks together. They all feel that they belong to one and the same great family or nation. (3) It enables them to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, not the slangy English of the street, but good, idiomatic, grammatical English. (4) It gives the child an opportunity to get a knowledge of the country in which he lives, of the government under which he exists, and of the people of whom he is to be a part. He learns that while he needs the country, the country needs him too; that he is to be a sovereign limited in his powers by such laws only as he himself may help to create, and by such restrictions as modern civilization places upon him as being, upon the whole, for the good of all; that there is no one below him, and no one above him except those whom he may some day help to elect to attend to the business which his country demands.

EDUCATING A NATION

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

Education, as a national problem, has two fields: one the child, from the kindergarten age until the age of majority has been reached; the other, the illiterate adults.

The problem of adult illiteracy as it confronts us today is no longer one of race or section. The importance of the task of eliminating illiteracy cannot be underestimated, when we consider that there are nearly 6,000,000 illiterates in the United States, nearly all of whom have reached their majority. The full meaning of these figures will be better understood if I say that in double line of march, at intervals of three feet, these illiterate persons would extend over a distance of about 1,500 miles; that marching at the rate of twenty-five miles a day it would require more than two months for them to pass a given point. A mighty army is this, with banners of darkness inscribed with the legends of illiteracy and ignorance, helplessness and hopelessness—too large for the greatest degree of material prosperity and for the safety of our democratic institutions. The last census showed that there were more than two million illiterate males of voting age; in some states and in many counties the illiterate voters hold the balance of power in any closely contested election.

Illiteracy, as I have said, prevails to a greater extent in rural districts than in cities; the greatest number of illiterates is between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five years. In 1910 the total number of white illiterates was greater by nearly one million than the total of negro illiterates. Massachusetts had more illiterate men of voting age than Arkansas; Pennsylvania more than Tennessee and Kentucky combined. Boston had nearly 25,000 illiterates, Baltimore 20,000, New Orleans 19,000, Memphis 9,000.

Sporadic efforts show us that there is a shorter way to the reduction and elimination of illiteracy than to wait for time to do away with it. These grown-ups can be taught in schools organized especially for them.

EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANTS

H. H. WHEATON

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BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Some of the standards established by State constitutions are unfortunate. In effect, the provisions in many State constitutions operate against the establishment and extension of evening-school facilities, through which, primarily, the non-English-speaking foreigner must be reached. Such is the case in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Wyoming. In these States the constitutions, in most instances, authorize the legislature to provide for establishment and organization of free schools only for children within the ages of 6 and 21 years. Some of these States restrict the division of State school funds so that only children 21 years of age or under are the beneficiaries. In only one constitution, that of California, are evening schools specifically mentioned by name, and their establishment authorized. While it is true that, under existing rules of legal construction, constitutional provisions in the other States enumerated do not prohibit legislatures appropriating money from general State funds for the support of evening schools and do not make impossible the maintenance of evening schools by local communities, yet the fact that State school moneys can not be used except for children below the ages of 18 or 21 years discourages legislatures from separate appropriation for evening-school purposes, and operates to discourage local communities from maintaining such facilities on their own financial responsibility without State aid.

EVENING-SCHOOL LEGISLATION.

Most legislative provisions applicable to evening schools are permissive in nature so far as establishment of evening schools by local communities is concerned. Massachusetts and Connecticut are exceptions to the rule. They require, under certain conditions, that evening schools must be maintained. In Massa-

chusetts, every city or town in which labor certificates are granted within the year to 20 or more persons to whom the literacy law applies must maintain an evening school during the following year. In Connecticut, every town having a population of 10,000 or more is required to establish and maintain such schools for the instruction of persons over 14 years of age. In other States, evening schools must be established by local communities, provided a stipulated number of residents present a formal petition. This is the case in Indiana, where night schools must be established in cities of over 3,000 inhabitants upon the petition of 20 or more inhabitants having children between the ages of 14 and 21 years, necessarily employed during the day, who will attend such evening schools. Practically the same requirement affects Baltimore County, Md., except that the petition must be signed by 20 persons over 12 years of age who desire to attend evening school. In Pennsylvania, the provision is mandatory in second, third, and fourth class school districts upon the application of 25 parents of pupils above the age of 14 years who are residents of the school district.

On the other hand, legislative provisions making the establishment of evening schools entirely optional on the part of local boards of education have been passed in several of the principal immigration States, such as California, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In fact, this seems to be the standard adopted by most legislatures. The result is that evening-school facilities are not maintained in a large number of communities where a genuine demand and need exists. Even in those cities where facilities are established they are usually considered merely adjuncts to the day-school system, rather than an integral part of the educational system. Thus in the principal immigration States above specifically mentioned the number of communities maintaining evening schools is surprisingly low. In New York, with a foreign-born white population of 2,729,272, the largest in the entire country, a State having 148 urban centers with over 2,500 inhabitants, and 71 urban centers with over 1,000 foreign-born whites, the number of cities maintaining evening schools is only 41. In Pennsylvania, the number is slightly higher, 42, but is really lower when taken in connection with the fact that this State has 263 urban centers with 2,500 inhabitants and 127 such centers with 1,000 foreign-born whites. New Jersey has only 30 communities with evening schools, as against 61 urban centers

with over 1,000 foreign-born whites; Ohio, 20 as against 40; California, 9 as against 30; Wisconsin, 19 as against 38. On the other hand, Massachusetts, owing to the operation of its mandatory evening-school law, has 65 communities with evening schools, as against 117 communities with over 1,000 foreign-born whites. In Connecticut, every city over 10,000, with the exception of one, a wealthy suburban community which has no reason to comply with the State law, maintains evening schools pursuant to the mandatory provision above referred to. No State during the past two years has passed any legislation making the establishment of evening schools mandatory.

In commenting upon legislative standards, mention should be made of the fact that during the last year a method of securing the establishment of evening schools has come into common use although not required by law in any considerable number of States; namely, petition by immigrants desiring evening-school instruction in English and civics. The Bureau of Education is in receipt of a number of such petitions requesting it to use its influence with local boards of education in securing evening-school facilities. It was also advised of several instances where similar petitions have been made directly to local school authorities as a means of securing action by them. This suggests a very definite scheme of securing evening schools in States where these facilities are authorized by law, but are not required to be maintained. As interest in acquiring the common language of the country develops among the foreign-born whites, the tendency seems more and more to be in the direction of making formal petitions for instruction through evening schools. This is quite likely to be adopted by legislatures as a standard condition precedent to requiring evening schools, for the purpose of ascertaining the desire on the part of immigrant residents for training in English and civics.

A most significant law was passed by the California Legislature last year, setting a high standard for other States. This legislation provides for the appointment of "domestic educators" by local boards of education, upon the basis of one appointee to each 500 units of attendance in the day schools. These educators are to go from house to house, especially in the foreign sections, for the purpose of training the mothers and children in the rules of health, sanitation, and hygiene, the principles of buying food and clothing, the English language and civics, and other appro-

priate subjects. The Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Daughters of the American Revolution have united in developing facilities authorized by this new law.

STATE AID.

Eleven States grant State aid benefiting evening schools: California, Connecticut, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin. The amount of State aid, together with the conditions under which it is granted, however, is not standardized in these States. Under certain limitations, Pennsylvania, to promote vocational instruction, grants to a school district two-thirds of the sum which has been expended during the previous school year for such instruction. Evening schools for foreigners are thus indirectly benefited if vocational instruction is given therein. In Maine two-thirds of the amount expended for the salaries of teachers is allowed for evening schools in which certain vocational subjects are taught. One-half the cost of maintenance or of actual expenditure for evening-school instruction is the standard most frequently adopted. This practice obtains in New Jersey under a special law to promote immigrant classes, and in Rhode Island and Wisconsin under certain restrictions as to the total amount receivable by a community. Divers other methods of apportionment obtain in the remaining States, as in California, where it is based upon average daily attendance in evening schools; in Connecticut, where a fixed rate of \$2.25 per pupil in average attendance is paid; in Minnesota, where also obtains a per capita basis for evening-school pupils between the ages of 5 and 21 years; in New Jersey, where a fixed amount per teacher is paid, together with a per capita allowance based upon attendance; in New York, where the basis is the number of teachers and the days taught by each; and in Washington, where aid is given according to the actual number of units of attendance of all pupils. In the two States where aid is granted upon the basis of attendance an evening attended is credited as half a day provided the session is two hours in length.

It would seem, therefore, that some very high standards have been set in the apportionment of State aid, yet none of them has received such general adoption as to warrant the statement that it is an approved standard. While the principle of State aid for

evening-school maintenance is firmly established, the conditions under which it is granted still need standardization.

STANDARDS IN ADMINISTRATION.

Supervision of evening schools ought to be as definite and as extensive as supervision of day schools. It is not upon a satisfactory basis in most communities. The general practice seems to be to leave supervision to the superintendent. Only about one-third of the 150 cities reporting during the last year employ a director of evening-school work. Many large communities report no such school official. Only one city, Rochester, N.Y., reports a director of immigrant education, whose duties are exclusively limited to this particular phase of education. It is needless to remark that this city has made rapid strides in its Americanization work, due largely to this specialized supervision. A very few other cities report the detailing of a principal to supervise the immigrant work in addition to his other duties, but in these cities Americanization work has not progressed so extensively or along such definite lines. Detroit has announced for the coming year the appointment of a supervisor of immigrant education for the purpose of training teachers in methods, selecting appropriate courses and texts, coordinating the work of the various schools and classes, and working out appropriate entertainment on "social" evenings.

In the appointment of evening-school teachers it seems to be the general practice to select teachers most capable from the day-school staff. Superintendents who follow this method from choice do so feeling that a day-school teacher is most competent and has training in educational methods. Those who follow the practice from necessity, not being able to secure suitable teachers from other sources, do not approve of the practice, feeling that the double work, physically and mentally, placed upon teachers reduces the efficiency of both day and evening school instruction. Until adequate means of training teachers for the instruction of immigrants in English and civics are devised, coupled with increased salaries, it is quite likely that this custom will obtain generally.

Methods of appointing teachers are quite diverse. While the ideal method would be recommendation by the supervisor of immigrant education, after proper professional determination of fitness, nomination by the superintendent, and appointment by

the board of education, yet local whim seems to have determined the particular method. Some communities report appointment by superintendents, others by boards of education, others by committees of the board of education, others by principals, others by directors of evening schools, others by supervisors of extension work, or by the board of industrial education.

The qualifications considered in the determination of fitness have gravitated toward the following tests, the order set forth indicating the commonness of the method: first, general teaching ability, training, and experience; second, known ability to teach immigrants; third, experience in teaching immigrants. Training in the teaching of immigrants has been given slight consideration, due to the fact that few cities have given definite training in this particular line of work. Knowledge and appreciation of the immigrant and sympathy with him and with his national and racial characteristics have not come to be regarded as important. Ability to speak the foreign language is a requirement in some places, and personality receives consideration in a number of cities, but no standard test or definition of personality prevails.

In training teachers of foreigners, some progress has been made during the past year. In Rochester, N. Y., a high standard has been established, the teachers being brought together in meetings frequently, and training given them in their own classrooms by the supervisor of immigrant education. Small groups of teachers are taken about from school to school by the supervisor for the purpose of watching the work of the most competent instructors. Similar methods have been utilized in other cities, but the training is not so highly specialized. Several teachers' institutes have been held during the past year in order to develop an interest in this type of education and to point out some of the most effective methods utilized. Boston has conducted a teachers' training course over a considerable period of time. At the close of the school year a course was given in the city of Detroit, two specialists from outside of the city giving two lectures each day to about 300 persons. A similar course was given in Buffalo at the close of the evening-school term, while several courses have been given in teachers' colleges and even in universities where teachers were in attendance. The most notable of such courses were the ones given in the State Teachers' College at Albany, N. Y., and in the summer school of Columbia University. This particular method of training

probably marks the beginning of great advance in the equipment and qualification of teachers for the type of instruction under consideration. Several other cities have also announced such courses for the coming school year. Special conferences and meetings of teachers have been held in Harris Teachers' College at St. Louis, Mo., Wilmerding, Pa., Rockford and East Chicago, Ill., Franklin, Mass., Hibbing, Minn., Garwood, N.J., Hudson Falls and Yonkers, N. Y., Milwaukee and Superior, Wis. About 35 cities report lectures on immigrant-education problems.

Lack of standards in training, of course, is due in part to lack of standard in methods of teaching English and civics. As progress is made in the latter direction, so equally will advance be made in competent training of teachers.

Salaries of both teachers and principals in the evening schools are generally paid upon the evening basis. Of 354 communities reporting upon the basis of payment, 271 pay at a fixed rate per evening; 41 at a fixed rate per hour or period; 31 on the monthly basis; 6 upon the yearly basis; and 5 upon the weekly basis. While payment upon the evening basis is the standard usually adopted, yet distinct advance has been made during the last year or two toward payment upon the monthly basis. The whole question of payment is involved in the schedule of hours and sessions. As long as teachers are taken from the day-school staff and evening schools are conducted on only three or four evenings per week, payment must by necessity in most cities be made upon the evening basis. Where evening schools are conducted four or five evenings per week, and where adult classes are also held during the day the tendency is toward payment upon a monthly basis. The extension of evening-school facilities and the combination of adult day classes with evening-school instruction will enable an increasingly large number of communities to make payment upon that basis. The professional side of instructing adult immigrants will never be developed until a teacher is placed in a position to specialize in this form of work to the exclusion of day-school instruction of children and other vocations. Principals are usually paid upon the same basis as teachers, although in 14 instances a different arrangement prevails.

Salaries of teachers and principals show the greatest diversity. The most frequent salary in cities of over 100,000 population is \$2 per evening. This obtains in 10 out of 36 cities reporting,

although the range of salaries in these cities is \$1 to \$3, while the average is \$2.20 per evening. The most frequent salary in cities ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 population is also \$2 per evening, as well as in cities from 10,000 to 25,000. Twenty-five out of the 81 cities in the second-mentioned group and 26 cities out of 82 in the third group pay this amount. The range of salaries, however, in both of these last-mentioned groups is greater even than in the first mentioned, being from \$1 to \$3.50. The average in both, however, is below the first-mentioned group. The general tendency seems to be to raise the rate per evening as interest and appreciation of the Americanization movement develops in each community.

TERMS, SESSIONS, AND HOURS.

The greatest diversity exists in the number of evenings taught during the term. In Traverse City, Mich., the term runs through 20 sessions, one evening per week, while in Los Angeles and Oakland, Cal., the term extends throughout 187 sessions of five evenings per week. It must be remarked, however, that the length of the terms in the two California cities mentioned is due to the requirement of State law, it having been made a standard by legislative enactment that evening school facilities shall be coextensive with those provided in the day schools. In the 43 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants reporting, in which the range of sessions is from 46 to 187, the average number of sessions is 83. This, however, does not mean that the average is by any means a standard. Only 9 of these cities report over 90 sessions; 24 report from 70 to 90 sessions, and 10 less than 70. Again, of the 102 cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population reporting, with a range of sessions from 40 to 185, the average number of sessions is 79. In 22 the term runs over 90 sessions; in 59 from 60 to 90 sessions; and in 21, less than 60. Out of the 113 cities of 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants reporting, with a range of sessions from 20 to 177, the average number of sessions is 59. Thirteen cities report over 80 sessions in a term; 78 report from 40 to 80; and 22 report less than 40.

State aid is the most powerful factor in standardizing the number of sessions in a term. In New Jersey, under the provision of the general aid law, a community may not receive State aid unless it maintains night schools on at least 64 evenings. In Connecticut, the minimum is fixed at 75. In Minnesota, State

aid is not available unless the pupils attend on 40 nights or more.

The number of sessions per week ranges from one to six. The standard seems to be three nights per week on alternate evenings. Of 376 cities reporting, 175 had three evenings per week, and 102 had four evenings per week. Monday is selected by 335 cities, and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings constitute the most frequent combination in 86 cities, although classes are conducted on the first four evenings of the week in 80 cities. The tendency during the past year or two has been toward the first standard mentioned—three alternate evenings per week—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. At the close of the last evening-school year, the school officials of Detroit announced that the four-evening combination would be abolished and a three-evening combination would be substituted during the coming school year.

The length of a session is unusually well standardized; 323 out of 428 cities reporting use a two-hour session. Nevertheless, 74 cities have sessions of one hour and a half. Although 122 cities use the 7 to 9 o'clock period, the most common hours of conducting classes are from 7:30 to 9:30. One hundred and forty-six communities have adopted this as a standard period.

REGULARIZING ATTENDANCE.

Although cities have used several methods of regularizing attendance of immigrant pupils, the most common practice is to require a deposit returnable upon regularity of attendance. At least 150 communities require deposits conditioned upon two-thirds to four-fifths of the evenings taught. The amount of the deposits varies widely. The most common amount required is \$1. Out of 429 cities 77 report an actual fee charged. This operates to discourage attendance rather than to regularize it.

PUBLICITY AND COOPERATION.

In bringing evening-school facilities to the attention of prospective pupils, the most common methods used by school authorities are announcements in the foreign-language newspapers, posters, placards, and handbills. In seven cities slides are shown in moving-picture theaters. In a few cities circular letters are sent to employers, labor organizations, foreigners' societies, and civic clubs.

The greatest contribution to publicity methods has been made

by the city of Detroit, where the board of education and the board of commerce united in a city-wide publicity campaign to induce foreigners to attend night school. Several hundred industrial establishments cooperated in having their non-English speaking employees enroll. Posters and handbills were disseminated broadcast and notices were placed in pay envelopes. Priests, foreigners' societies, foreign-language newspapers, patriotic societies, civic clubs, and fraternal organizations cooperated in bringing the value of night schools to the attention of foreign-born residents. As a result enrollment was increased in excess of 150 per cent beyond the year preceding.

For the sake of stimulating an appreciation of the value of publicity as a means of getting foreigners into the night schools, the Bureau of Education caused the distribution of over 150,000 "America First" posters. These set forth in English and seven foreign languages the advantages of attending night school and learning the English language. The response was definite and conclusive. Not only was a perceptible increase in attendance noted, but a positive demand for night schools came from many sections where such facilities had never been maintained. A considerable number of communities established night schools as a result, and a keen interest in the Americanization movement was developed among American citizens.

Another method of publicity was devised by the United States Bureau of Naturalization in the Department of Labor. The names of declarants and petitioners for naturalization were entered upon cards and sent to the respective school authorities in those communities where these aliens resided. Through the contact developed in this way between naturalization courts and school officials a considerable number of classes in citizenship for those preparing for naturalization have been established.

In December, 1914, the Bureau of Education suggested to the United States Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Labor that the names of alien children of school age be sent to the proper school authorities in those communities to which such children were destined upon arriving at the ports of entry. The names of a limited number prior to that time had been sent to certain cities upon request. The plan was extended to all communities at the beginning of the school term of 1915-16.

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THE WORKERS' CLASS

WINTHROP TALBOT

ORIGINATOR OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DAY-CLASS IN INDUSTRIAL
ESTABLISHMENTS

The principle of the workers' class is that the public-school system shall furnish a teacher and school equipment; the industrial establishment shall provide a room in the place of employment and time during the day for instruction *without loss of wage*; and the workers themselves shall contribute their own effort during daylight hours under definite personal responsibility.

In the workers' class it is possible for any person of ordinary intelligence who has never learned to read or write in any language, and who can speak no English, to acquire a good working knowledge of 600 English words, ease in reading common prose, legible penmanship, and knowledge of simple arithmetic. The time needed is 60 hours, or 1 hour a day for 12 weeks, 5 days a week.

Experimental Class for Adult Workers.

The workers' class begun in New York City in the spring of 1913 was an initial experiment in the effort to meet the school needs of adult industrial workers to the end that boards of education might assign thoroughly capable and expert public-schools teachers to give instruction in industrial establishments to adults or those beyond school age.

It was also an effort to provide elementary schooling, not trade training, because trade training is not needed in industries where all work is done through certain operative processes easily learned within a few days in the factory itself and requiring only that expertness which must be acquired by working daily until "practice makes perfect."

It is of prime importance that in instituting workers' classes for adults in industrial establishments stress should be laid on discovering and employing as teachers only those who are industrially minded and whose personality and teaching equipment are such as to grip the interest of undeveloped adult pupils whose minds are not plastic, whose attention is easily lost, and who are quickly wearied mentally. Moreover, the teacher must be a person of judgment, adaptability and poise—

and nonpartisan, both socially and racially. The least bias of thought or feeling will find expression in words or acts and will militate seriously against success in an atmosphere of growing democracy such as is characteristic of establishments sufficiently advanced to install a workers' class and co-operate with the public-school system.

It became clear from close study given to this class how hard it is to predetermine correctly proper modes of study for and modes of conducting workers' classes; wise methods can be selected only by experiment, analysis, and adaptation. Since similar cooperative classes are now being formed in other industries, as well as in mercantile establishments and construction camps, it is well to recognize possible pitfalls and errors.

I. At first it seemed reasonable to suppose that girls who had never been taught to read and write could be assigned to one group; that those who had been to school a few years in foreign countries could form another group; that those who had been to school in this country and knew a little English could form a third. It was soon found that the amount of prior schooling could not be taken as a basis for grouping. All grouping had to be determined by the degree of individual interest, application, ability to concentrate, and mental flexibility.

II. An observation allied to this is that methods of instruction and teachers adequate for pupils from 14 to 16 who have just left school may be failures in dealing with workers over 16, especially those who have been out of school for several years and who have lost entirely the habit of knack of study.

III. For the first few weeks, in general, the most striking characteristic in the class was a discouraging mental rigidity and listlessness. Girls became fatigued after 15 or 20 minutes of application to their books like young children. It was apparently more wearisome to them to try to read for 10 minutes than to work intensely and interestedly at dressmaking for an hour. They seemed stupid and inattentive after a few minutes of effort with pencil or book, although evidently ambitious and desirous to learn.

IV. In learning the educational needs of girls in the undermuslin industry, light is not necessarily thrown upon all the mental requirements of workers in other industries. To avoid costly errors, the institution of similar experimental classes under like intense and expert analysis would be the cheapest

and surest mode of handling this educational problem in any industry. What girls in the undermuslin line need most might be least useful to girls employed on core making in foundries or selling goods over the counter. For instance, in some optical works only high-school girls are ever employed. Illiterates are seldom employed in department stores. Some factories will not employ foreigners; some employ only foreigners. Certain establishments wish only girls fresh from grammar schools and living at home; others prefer older and steadier women, dependent on their own resources. The needs of men are almost radically different from those of women. Yet workers' classes are adapted to everyone engaged in industry—skilled or unskilled, literate or illiterate, alert or dull.

V. Another impressive deduction was the need of care of health, and particularly knowledge of physical handicaps. One-third of the girls in this group, chosen at random, had eye defects which would make it impossible for them ever to earn more than a bare living wage while working on white goods. Such girls might easily make much more money as waitresses, or doing almost any work which does not require accurate vision. Such special handicaps are not only costly to the industry, but prevent the worker from earning a proper livelihood and are the frequent cause of the low and stationary wage. It would be to the financial advantage of every worker and every industry to know by health examinations what physical disabilities interfere with productive wage advancement in any given job. Labor organizations having the larger wage at heart should exert every effort to compel the institution of such examinations, as a matter of fair play and justice to the workers. Managers should institute such examinations, as a means of avoiding discouragement, waste, and discontent.

Workers' Class for Adult Illiterates.

As the direct outcome and intentional sequence of the experimental class, by authorization of the school authorities, in September, 1913, Miss Lizzie E. Rector, principal of Public School No. 4, deputed Miss Florence D. Myers, who had been in charge of the experimental class, to teach 40 girls in the factory of D. E. Sicher & Co., New York City.

These girls were mainly those who had never learned to read or write in any language, and comprised all the illiterates in the

factory force of 400, or about 10 per cent. The girls were assigned to two groups, one being taught from October to February, the other from February to June. The groups were divided into sections of six or seven each, and each section was taught daily for a period of 45 minutes, except on Saturdays. In this way every illiterate girl in the factory at the time received nearly individual instruction in English, reading, writing, arithmetic, American history, geography, personal hygiene, and practical information about food, fire protection, and the evolution of the undergarment. Practice was given in the writing of letters of a friendly and business nature; keeping expense accounts and budgets, and in making out workslips and reports; the girls learned the practical application in daily life of adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing. They were taught how to deposit money in the savings bank and how to draw it out.

Miss Myers took pains herself to sit at the various machines and get the forewomen to instruct and correct her, making note of all their phrases and afterwards using them in the early lessons in English. In teaching English, practice was given in the use of the telephone book, the city directory, and how to write telegrams. The girls learned about the mail service, how to send letters abroad, the common routes of travel in New York City, and local ordinances. They were given practical and simple rules for safety and health.

It was obvious, as the weeks passed by, that the lessons in personal hygiene, physical culture, right breathing, and eating were taking effect. The eyes of the girls were getting brighter, the skins clearer, the minds more alert and receptive, and better taste and judgment were shown in dress. From being apathetic, they became interested, eager, and willing to work hard.

In no sense would this be termed welfare or philanthropic work, inasmuch as in the records of the firm the girl students gained from 20 to 70 per cent in working efficiency, and the girls themselves not only attained new hopefulness, ambition, and courage, but increased their earnings from an average of 19.5 cents per hour to 22.2 cents per hour, while the earnings of those who could not avail themselves of the class instruction remained practically unchanged.

A WORKERS' CLASS OF ILLITERATE GIRLS

LIZZIE C. RECTOR.

PRINCIPAL, PUBLIC SCHOOL NO. 4, NEW YORK CITY

The girls who attended the school the first year were selected on a basis of illiteracy. Some had never been in a school at any time in their lives. Others had, for brief periods, attended school in remote districts in Russia, Poland, and Italy. Some, since their arrival in New York, had made an effort to gain what had been denied them at home, by going to night schools after working in the factory all day. This proved to be such a tax on their strength that most of them finally gave up the attempt.

During the past year 40 girls have received instruction. These were divided into two classes of 16 each and one of 8. These classes were then subdivided into groups of three or four girls each, each group receiving instruction for 45 minutes daily. They were taught to read, to write, and to keep a personal expense account as a part of the course in arithmetic. As the girls were engaged in the factory on piecework, the firm paid them while attending school the amount they would earn if actually at work, so that at the end of the week they received full pay.

The results of the first year's work in the classes have been highly satisfactory. A careful examination of the teachers' and the factory's reports shows that the earning capacity of the girls has been increased from 10 to 40 per cent. This result is in accordance with the established educational principle that increased intelligence creates increased efficiency, and increased efficiency produces increased earning capacity.

Not only have the girls gained in knowledge and earning power, but their ambition has been aroused; they have a keen sense of the distinction between right and wrong; and they are imbued with a better spirit.

At the close of the course in June, graduation exercises were held and public-school certificates of literacy were presented to each member of the class.

From time to time interested visitors, educators, and employers visited the class. It attracted attention and favorable notice in the daily press throughout the whole country, with the

result that other employers have been stimulated to establish similar classes, especially in department stores for literate girls.

Course of Study of the Illiterate Workers' Class.

I. English Language:

- (1) Reading. (2) Spelling.
- (3) Writing. (4) Geography.
- (5) Methods of communication—
 - a. Correspondence— b. Telephoning.
 - Business letters. c. Telegraphing.
 - Social letters.
 - Post-office regulations.

II. Hygiene:

- (1) Personal cleanliness.
- (2) Physical culture (gymnastics).
- (3) Food—choice, food value, cooking, serving.
- (4) Emergencies, treatment of injured.

III. Civics:

- (1) Systems of government—
 - a. Merits of democratic government.
 - b. Patriotism.
 - c. Citizenship.
- (2) History—
 - a. Origin of legal holidays. b. Lives of statesmen.

IV. Mathematics:

- (1) Four fundamental operations in arithmetic.
- (2) Tables of weights and measures.
- (3) Money; bills and currency.
- (4) Work reports.
- (5) Personal expense accounts.
- (6) Bank accounts.

V. Practical application of language:

- (1) Evolution of an undergarment—
 - a. Growth of cotton plant. c. Weaving.
 - b. Manufacture— d. Shipping.
 - Spinning operation.
 - Bleaching.
- (2) Alphabet as a guide to common things—
 - a. Advertisements. c. Directory.
 - b. Dictionary.

THE EDUCATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

GRACE ABBOTT

DIRECTOR OF THE IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In planning any new program for the education of the adult immigrant, the main difficulty is a complete lack of definite ideas as to what can be accomplished. Anything, however little, which the evening schools have managed to do has been counted as so much pure gain. There is, however, a growing demand that the education of the adult be put on an entirely new basis. To meet this demand, it would be necessary to decide at the outset what we ought to expect to accomplish in any program adopted.

People who have been stirred by the nationalism which the present war has developed have said that "we ought to get the immigrants into our evening schools and teach them American ideals." These enthusiastic patriots seem quite unconscious of the fact that, because the immigrant is so inadequately protected against fraud and exploitation and because he so frequently suffers from racial discrimination, it is perhaps necessary to get him into a room and to tell him how different our beliefs with regard to social and political equality are from our practices. But until we live these beliefs we cannot honestly represent them to the immigrants as American.

There are others who think that it is necessary to teach the strangers among us the "fundamental Americanism," for they fear that the traditions of the country will be destroyed by the "invading hordes." We should probably rather seriously disagree among ourselves about what these fundamental Americanisms are; but I suppose most of us would like to class religious toleration as one of them. When we remember how long, judged by this standard, it took to Americanize our Puritan ancestors, it is a surprise to find that people believe that such principles can be taught by ten lessons in Americanism.

Many Americans have in mind as of first importance a change in the superficial habits of the immigrants—their dress, house-keeping, and family celebrations. And yet no one of us really sees any danger to American life in the use of black bread instead of white, or in the wearing of a shawl instead of a hat.

There are others who find that one of the greatest lessons of

the war has been to demonstrate the need of "molding" the immigrants into true Americans as fast as possible. But this cannot be accepted as an educational end either for children or for adults. The "molding" process is contrary to sound educational standards. It means ironing out individual, as well as group, differences. It means that the native Americans set themselves up as the "true American type" to which the immigrants must conform. This would, of course, be reckless in its disregard of the talents and capacity of other peoples. It would also be so stultifying to the native Americans that it probably would seriously endanger any future development of those who are descendants of the "old stock."

Fortunately, the educational needs of the adult immigrants are of the definite sort that can be met. Those who see them as they arrive and after they have encountered many of the ugliest aspects of American life know that they come with some knowledge of industrial conditions in America—that is a reason for their coming. But of labor laws designed for their protection, of the employment agent and his practices, of possible markets for their skill, of what is a fair wage in America, they know nothing at all. They know that we have a republican form of government—that, too, is a reason why they come. Most of them know something of the history of the country and of the principles it has championed. But they do not have any concrete knowledge of the machinery through which democracy expresses itself or is prevented from expressing itself in the United States. They do not understand the history that is being made in the United States to-day.

We are relying on our public evening schools to teach the immigrant English and to give him the information he needs to enable him to take his part in our community life. Chicago is not especially behind other cities in the educational provision which it is making for the adult immigrant; but that Chicago is not doing what, in the interest of the community as well as of the immigrant, should be done, is obvious.

According to the United States Census in 1900 there were in Chicago 69,771 foreign-born white persons ten years of age and over unable to speak English; in 1910 the number was 184,884. By 1916, it is estimated the number was more than 200,000. In 1900 there were 46,424 foreign-born white persons over fourteen years of age who were unable to read or write in any language;

in 1910 the number was 75,580. How much effort is being made to offer these people the opportunity of learning the things they need to know, very few people in Chicago have stopped to inquire.

In the spring of 1915, with the cooperation of the superintendent of schools and the superintendent of evening classes, an investigation of the evening schools in Chicago was made by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and the Immigrants' Protective League. Only a few of the facts learned in that investigation can be given here. During that year, of the 17,613 who were enrolled, only seven per cent attended as many as 70 out of 80 evenings of the session and 23 per cent attended less than 20 evenings. The record of illiteracy was not kept by the schools; but the principals of the evening classes so far as they had information on the subject thought that practically no illiterates were in the schools.

The inference drawn from such figures by those who do not know all the facts is that the immigrant is to blame for this showing. Two of Chicago's leading newspapers recently called attention editorially to the large number of non-English speaking residents in the South Chicago district and the small number that had taken out their citizenship papers. The superintendent of evening schools reported that his South Chicago classes have not been well attended. The papers quite rightly reasoned that something was wrong. But even superficial investigation would have indicated the real source of the difficulties. The men who are employed in the steel mills of South Chicago work twelve hours a day for one week on a day shift and the next week on a night shift. The classes the city offers these men meet four evenings of every week throughout a term of twenty weeks, just as they do in the other parts of the city. That so many of them should have attended evening school under these circumstances is a proof of their great eagerness to learn English.

In order to gain some first-hand information as to the reason why those who had evidenced their desire to learn English by enrolling in the evening school dropped out in such large numbers, the Immigrants' Protective League visited in the spring of 1916 all those who had left three of the evening schools and whose names and addresses could be secured. These schools were situated in typical foreign neighborhoods in the northwest, west and southwest parts of the city.

Of the 554 whom we tried to interview, we were unable to locate 115, 112 had moved from the neighborhood of the school, and 33 had left the city to do farm or railroad construction work. The reasons given by the others were as follows:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Industrial causes | 169 |
| Overtime work | 69 |
| Changed from day to night work .. | 37 |
| Changed jobs, unable to get to school by 7 p. m. | 36 |
| Fatigue after the day's work | 27 |
| Dissatisfaction with school | 51 |
| No classification of students | 6 |
| Discouraged over progress | 17 |
| Teacher unable to speak their language | 22 |
| Indifference of teacher | 4 |
| Change of teacher | 2 |
| Illness or some family difficulty | 49 |
| All other reasons | 71 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 340 |
| Counted twice | 46 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 294 |

Ways by which a large number of these people might be kept in attendance at evening school immediately suggest themselves. Those who leave on account of overtime work said that they were planning to return in the fall when the term began. But they will hardly have enrolled before the holiday rush will demand exhausting overtime work. To meet this difficulty, classes should be offered throughout the year. During periods of normal immigration the largest numbers arrive during the spring and summer; so a summer term is much needed on this account. The plan of beginning the evening classes in October and closing them in March was never adopted with a view to securing a large attendance of those for whose benefit the classes are offered, but because tradition has kept the school houses locked for several months a year. The evening schools receive students at any time during the session; but new classes are not organized nor is the work widely advertised except in the fall. The fre-

quent formation of new classes and a follow-up system would secure the re-attendance of most of those who leave on account of illness or with the beginning of the busy season in their trade.

Chicago conducts one very interesting and successful day school for adults near the center of the business district. Students are allowed to attend the whole day or such part of the day as they are free. A large number of waiters, dishwashers, and other hotel and restaurant employees in the Loop District, and others who come from various parts of the city attend this school. But it is too far away from many of the largest immigrant districts to enable those who work at night to attend.

Classes meeting in the late afternoon are very much needed in other parts of the city, if those who do night work are to be given any opportunity to learn English.

Men and women whose work ends at six o'clock in the downtown district find it impossible to reach home and to get ready for school by seven o'clock. These men and women all said that they would be glad to attend a class beginning at eight o'clock. It should, of course, be possible to have classes beginning at both seven and eight o'clock. But for the Polish girls who worked ten hours in a laundry, for the Ruthenian girl who did dish-washing ten hours in a restaurant, for the seventeen-year-old Polish boy who worked in a foundry, for the seventeen-year-old Russian Jewish girl who was eager to learn but who said it was a choice of work or school and she must choose work—for these and others who found themselves too tired to attend after the day's work—some radical change in our educational program is needed.

The Massachusetts Commission recommended the establishment of a compulsory part-time system for all those under seventeen years of age in the hope that they would not only be taught English but be given such additional general and vocational training as would meet their needs. It is to be hoped that employers eventually will be compelled to allow all their employees who are unable to speak English a short period for instruction during their working hours. Some employers would be willing to do this now; and the schools should hold themselves ready to conduct these classes, provided reasonably satisfactory teaching conditions are guaranteed.

The practice of employing as night school teachers only those who are also employed in the day school is general. In cities

where this is not done the teaching force is recruited from students and young lawyers and doctors who find their work a convenient way of supplementing their incomes. In neither case are really professional standards possible.

No great improvement in the teaching can be hoped for until specially trained teachers are employed to do the evening school work. In some of the large classes which are composed of old and young, illiterate and educated, and taught by a weary teacher, the class work is necessarily so poor that only the most ambitious and the hopelessly stupid remain.

Books intended for adults are now generally used; but the Cleveland Survey reports that men employed in one of Cleveland's steel mills were found copying "I am a yellow bird. I can sing. I can fly. I can sing to you," and in another they were reading "Little drops of water, little grains of sand." Books in which the words and pictures are based on the work and life of the immigrant men and women are now available.

The Immigrant and the Community. pp. 234-46. New York. Century. 1917.

SCHOOLS IN CAMPS.

SARAH WOOL MOORE

TEACHER, AND ORGANIZER OF SCHOOLS, SOCIETY FOR ITALIAN
IMMIGRANTS

The schoolhouse for a moving camp may perhaps be a transformed freight car or a portable building, but "most any old country schoolhouse" which may chance to be conveniently near the camp will not be suitable.

Schoolrooms, as at present arranged, are as little adapted to the convenience and comfort of the adult as are school text books. Here again we are trying to make the child's wardrobe fit the man. Whether in city or camp, school quarters for the adult should be of the reading room type and conversation should be a stated feature of the course. The ordinary recitation room open for evening classes, with its individual desks screwed to the floor, admits of no grading, no grouping, no pantomime rehearsal of verbs, no impromptu "socials," no flexibility or freedom of program.

Our commodious school shanty with its open rafters is, at the beginning, forty or fifty feet long by eighteen wide, and soon a

wing is added. Under the high horizontal window sashes a continuous blackboard surrounds the walls. The furniture consists of benches or chairs and removable table tops eleven feet long and two and a half feet wide, supported on horses. A platform at one end of the room and running shelves for books over the blackboards are a necessity. Here one teacher may take care of thirty or forty men in two well-defined grades, if each class, grouped about its long table, has its work planned so that it can go forward while the teacher is busy at the other table. Beginners, without regard to nationality, occupy the wing and have a special teacher.

If a family camp, as soon as possible, facing south or east there should be a sunny kindergarten¹ extension. These three rooms thrown together make a fine assembly or social hall.

In one corner stands a neat, shelved box containing fifty or one hundred volumes loaned by the State Library at Albany. On its top are piled a dozen or two games to be enjoyed Saturday evenings.

The working man likes his school quarters in the heart of his living quarters and of the same homely pattern; he likes to have his regular teacher, his own seat and his own book and he desires ardently what every language student desires, to have exact equivalents for the names of such things as cannot be represented graphically, as, time, distance, value, exchange, wages, debt, savings. He is equally eager to get hold of the English word for objects which may be graphically represented, not doll and kite, however, but subway, tunnel, hoist, steam drill—the implements of a man.

Text books must be the staff of teacher as well as pupil, for few available teachers are at present masters of any of the immigrant languages. They can communicate with instructions only in English and in pantomime, from which perhaps one-half of the pupils may gather profit. What of the other half? Then, too, primary text books insult the intelligence of men who are not infants because they are learning to talk. Already mature and at the prime of brawn and brain and nervous force they have transferred themselves from one to another family of nations and are eager for the English which will express the life they are living.

How is it now? In most night schools for adult foreigners no better way is found than to start up in the evening the machinery

¹ Camp children of school age should also be provided for unless the nearest public school is within walking distance.

of the morning suitable only for children. The inevitable result is discouragement and disgust.

A system must be adopted or devised which with unswerving directness will put the immigrant in possession of the six or eight hundred words which he needs to understand and desires to use. A book entirely English should be prepared, giving at the head of each page numbered cuts of related objects, as, for instance, those composing a kit of carpenters' tools or miners' implements, and below on the same page, the correspondingly numbered English name for each. "John, what is No. 16?" Not only John, but every man in the class searches for cut sixteen and recognizes it as a familiar acquaintance before he finds sixteen in the text below and hears, clearly pronounced by the teacher, its English name. The class repeats the name in concert and individually. This drill must give definite information and give it simultaneously to Finn, Russian, Bohemian, Pole or Italian.

But words capable of graphic representation will not constitute more than an eighth of the number which must be mastered and a committee on revision of text books, which would exercise an important function in the proposed bureau of industry and immigration, would do well to select a suitable series out of existing books, eliminate infantile subjects, expressions and illustrations, and introduce in the most simple and gradually progressive phraseology a man's conversation. From primer to third reader the vocabulary should grow by accretion and use—a constant repetition of the ground passed over, a gradual addition of substantives and words of action, quality and relation. As these new words are introduced their equivalents in, let us say, Finnish, should be interlined, and at the back of the book be it primer or more advanced reader an alphabetical vocabulary Finnish-English and English-Finnish should be subjoined.

With such simple but sufficient tools to work with, the troubled perplexity would pass out of many Finnish eyes, many Finnish brows would clear and simultaneous enlightenment would come to Pole, Italian, Greek—each man being furnished with a reader identical as to English text and differing from the others only in its interlined interpretations. Excellent text books²

² Chancellor's Language and Reading for Evening Schools. Harrington's I and II Book for Non-English Speaking People. O'Brien's English for Foreigners. Robert's Lesson Leaves—English for New Americans. Richman and Wallack's Good Citizenship. Howard's American History, Government and Institutions.

already exist, but they presuppose a knowledge of our speech which only a few possess.

The evolution of the right teacher is a problem. The kind needed will be attracted to the work—experienced, devoted, capable, reliable and human. Theoretically a man should be the teacher in a labor camp but the Society for Italian Immigrants has had better success in sending women out by pairs or trios, and however forbidding the surroundings, no woman has suffered any discourtesy.

A teacher must expect inconvenience and difficulty. His preparation should include the principles of settlement work and knowledge of one or more foreign languages; for the efficiency of a camp school is not at its highest unless the language of the campers has been mastered by at least one of the teachers.

The problem of full and regular attendance depends largely upon the administrative ability of the principal. If kept busy and gaining a little headway each man says, "Tomorrow I will be here sure." But, it is difficult! Kinsmen and *paesani* from the same village troop in by squads. The beginners' class is suddenly swelled by eleven or twelve additions. Alas for the teacher! The pupils are glad to have mistakes corrected but the teacher must not chide or make invidious comparisons or praise too much, for jealousy is easily aroused. Though so gregarious there is a strange "apartness" between *paesani* of different Italian towns—they do not know or want to know each other's names or numbers or abodes, but that gradually wears off. It is wise to make changes in the order of school exercises without previous announcement. The pupils dislike innovations and the very thing you think will please them most, may work the other way. Each wants his own seat, his own book, his own accustomed turn, though all like a certain variety in the program and not too much time devoted to one thing. Plenty of talk, plenty of repetition, rehearsal of work-orders, concert reading, work on blackboard, phonic drill, free translation and practice in the use of a dictionary, and simple dialogues improvised by the teacher which are rehearsed with great gusto and sympathetically applauded by the school.

Then there is the problem of the pupil, often tired and sleepy, often set back with a new class of starters, often experiencing a most undesired change of teachers, puzzled and at sea but resolute to make the acquaintance of his new surroundings, he will

smile up at you and say, "Bye and bye," when that is almost the total of his English. Then, the pitiful "out of a job" cases who are "fired" because they consider their work too dangerous and because wages are not scaled up in proportion to risk. "I am willing to work," said one. "I must work, I can't afford not to work but I am not willing to be killed." The pathetic illiterates, young men as well as old, who delightedly practice writing their own names and read at sight words of two letters and often make astonishing progress. The intelligent looking newcomers "dumb as horses," Greeks, Slavs, Ruthenians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Russians, Finns—one can only set before them the array of dictionaries available and make them pick out the words "school," "country," "age," "arrive," etc.—words for which there is no object illustration in sight. Often one of the group will be able to act as interpreter of this or that language.

The Teaching of Foreigners, 386-391. *Survey*. 24. June 4, 1910.

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

GEORGE BECHT

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, HARRISBURG, PA.

The revival of pageantry in various communities, working out through ceremonial and dramatic form the episodes that marked the rise and progress of a city or community, is one of the most significant methods of impressing upon the young the spirit of sacrifice and social service. American children show their love and appreciation for heroic deeds in their selections of declamations which set forth the exploits of such heroes as Horatius, Gustavus Adolphus and William of Orange. These make their appeal to children not because the expression of their lives symbolizes a race or a group but because they represent fundamental expressions of human life. The school and the community should help preserve the best traditions of the alien and help him to work them out into the newer relationships. To neglect their heroes is to subtract one of the most fruitful factors in teaching patriotism. Garibaldi, Pasteur, Disraeli, Volta, Mendelssohn, Marconi have a meaning to the world that is not consequent upon the fact that they were born across the sea.

The courage, strength, ardor and spirit of the great men of any nation are admired by other nations.

Hitherto the school has regarded the teaching of citizenship as a special topic or the work of a separate department, but we are learning that every recitation constitutes a lesson in citizenship and that there is an arithmetic of character, a geography of character as well as the ethics of character. There is no branch of study that will not lend itself to training for civic righteousness and civic efficiency. The problem of training youth in citizenship does not involve new institutions, new text and new subject-matter, but rather a new attitude of the teachers and a new atmosphere in the classroom. Children must be helped to think through the problems of the community and the relationships of the individual to the social group to which he belongs as well as to the civic order. The alien, as well as the native American, needs to be instructed in the limitations of liberty. He must learn that his liberty must be liberty under the law. If American children understood this as thoroughly as they ought to understand it, we should not have to blush in the presence of the foreign child when children of native Americans, with half-baked ideas about liberty and independence, interpret that liberty and independence in terms of unbridled license. What indeed must be the effect upon children of the alien when in high schools or in the grades they note the pupils strike because some one has been punished or because a teacher has been promoted or demoted, or a holiday refused? Above all else, the school must teach a reverence for the law and respect for the rights of others. No word is so misunderstood as "liberty." One man's liberty ends where the right of another begins. The story has it that a man, swinging his arms violently in a crowd, struck the nose of a passer-by. The injured man objected, but the other man answered: "This is a free country." "Yes," was the reply, "but your liberty ends where my nose begins."

The problem of democracy is this: "How to utilize without waste the tremendously potent forces of human life that are everywhere about us?" The problem is largely individual. The wealth in character of the state is, in the long run, the wealth in character of the individuals composing it. Every social structure is the outgrowth of personal ideals. The public school has been an efficient agency. It will be more effective in the future as, with deeper consecration, superintendents and teachers ad-

vance to the unprecedented problems that lie before them. With new ideals, new aspirations, new hopes, for the enlarged brotherhood of America, may we not hope that these dissimilar nationalities will be incorporated into the newer type of citizenship and that we may have a realization of the vision pictured by the lamented Grady when he said:

"Bending low as did Elisha, and praying that our eyes may be made to see, we catch a vision of this splendid republic, with its mighty forces in balance and unspeakable peace falling upon all its children; chief among the federation of the English speaking people, with life streaming from its borders and light from its mountain tops, working out its salvation under God's approving eye, until the dark continents of earth are opened, the highways established, the jargon of the nations stilled, the perplexities of Babel straightened and, under one language, one liberty and one God, all the nations of the earth, hearkening to the American drum beat and girding up their loins, shall march amid the millennial dawn into the paths of righteousness and peace."

* The public school and the new American Spirit. School and Society. 3:613-17. April 29, 1916.

THE REGENTS' EXAMINATION

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

Muffled sounds of the city climbing to me at the window,
Here in the summer noon-tide students busily writing,
Children of quaint-clad immigrants, fresh from the hut and
the Ghetto,

Writing of pious Aeneas and funeral cites of Anchises.
Old-World credo and custom, alien accents and features,
Plunged in the free-school hopper, grist for the Anglo-Saxons—
Old-World sweetness and light, and fiery struggle of heroes,
Flashed on the blinking peasants, dull with the grime of their
bondage!

Race that are infant in knowledge, ancient in grief and traditions—

Lore that is tranquil with age and starry with gleams of the future—

What is the thing that will come from the might of the elements blending?

Neuter and safe shall it be? Or a flame to burst us asunder?

LIBRARIES

BOOKS FOR FOREIGNERS

JOHN COTTON DANA

LIBRARIAN, NEWARK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Our immigrants gather largely in cities and in groups by nationalities. They vote, they learn of the library, they ask for books in their native tongues, and their requests are granted. But that is a very one-sided statement of the grounds for the foreign language movement in American libraries. Though we wish to Americanize our immigrants, we also wish them to retain as long as possible an interest and pride in the countries from which they come. They adapt themselves almost too completely and too rapidly to our ways. A savor of their old habits and methods of thought would be a welcome addition to our national diet of industry. If the more intelligent among them wish to keep up with the literature of their homes, and to pass that interest on to their children—though this is almost impossible, as the children always insist on using English as far as possible—then to aid them, through our public libraries, seems expedient. It is easy to believe that they find their new home still more homelike, and become all the sooner attached to it, when they find one of its public institutions giving them a welcome in their native tongues.

Libraries: addresses and essays. p. 286. New York. H. W. Wilson & Co. 1916.

BUYING BOOKS FOR ALIENS (1898)

GRATIA A. COUNTRYMAN

PIONEER IN AMERICANIZATION THROUGH BRINGING THE PUBLIC
LIBRARY TO THE ALIEN

This paper does not expect to settle the question raised by the subject "Shall public libraries buy foreign literature for the benefit of the foreign population"? but will try to put into shape

the reasons that have gradually brought the writer to the views now held.

We will restrict the meaning of the phrase "foreign literature" to the lighter classes of literature, for no one questions that much of scientific and historical literature and works of classic value must be purchased in the original; but the present question refers to works that will not be used by English readers, but are purchased solely for the foreign element among us.

When the Minneapolis Public Library was opened eight years ago a fairly large number of books in the German, French and Scandinavian languages, and a few in Italian, were put into circulation. A little while after there came a request for some Hebrew books from a number of Jews, who did not desire their children's mental development to be aided solely by means of English books; consequently, a few Hebrew books were purchased, to the utter discomfiture of the head cataloger. Then came a Welsh minister with a list of Welsh books, and those were bought. The next request was from a colony of French-Canadians who lived near one of our branches. Their list was honored and the books sent to the branch located near them. Finally, the Russians put in their plea and got a small collection of Russian books, and the Italians petitioned for more, and it may be only a question of time before the Hungarians, Poles, Armenians and Japanese file similar petitions and the head cataloger be obliged to resign her position, not being a polyglot dictionary.

Under such experiences, which, I presume, are repeated in every large library, the question naturally arises: Should a library yield to these requests of a foreign element? Is it a proper function of the Public Library to buy books in so many languages, and if so, where shall it draw the line?

For a number of years my views were similar to those expressed in an editorial of the *Library Journal* of October, 1894, which were in substance that the purchase of books in foreign languages should be minimized; that the library should not serve to perpetuate the barriers of race and language; that the library should be wholly American, and its influence tend wholly toward Americanizing the foreign-born.

This seemed to me the true view until, happening over at the branch where the French-Canadians were just receiving their new books, I saw them gathering around these treasures like flies around a molasses-jug, and, with heads close together, buzzing

with suppressed excitement and delight. I knew then that those few books would bring happiness for days to come. My previous opinions were shaken, and the question naturally arose: "Were they worse citizens because the city library supplied to them books in their own native tongue? Were they less good Americans because their adopted country and its institutions recognized their peculiar needs?" Nay, verily, I thought not; rather their feeling would be one of gratitude and a sense of obligation that would bind them to the library and this country more than the national literature could possibly separate them.

In one of our branches, which is located in a district largely Scandinavian, we have shelved several thousand Scandinavian books. I have never seen a Scandinavian child go near those shelves. I remarked upon this one day to a Norwegian, and asked him if he didn't want his children to keep their language and a knowledge of their native literature. He answered, in broken English, to the effect that his children had to live in this country and he wanted them to keep our language and our books and our customs. I asked him if that feeling was quite general, and he answered that it was, so far as he knew; and then he added that his children could not be made to read anything but English if he wanted them to. That did not sound as if foreign literature in the library were producing anything but American loyalty. Certainly this Norwegian wanted his children to be American, and his children insisted upon being American. He himself wanted books in his own language, but that did not keep up in his mind any race barrier.

The night schools in our cities are attended very largely by foreigners—young men who are anxious to read and speak our language, who look forward to being American citizens. The library does not need to supply foreign literature to any extent for them or the children. But the older ones can scarcely be expected to forget their fatherland or to cease loving their mother tongue. Besides this, they either speak English with difficulty or not at all, so that if they cannot get any books in their own tongue they will be likely to read nothing at all. It does not appear that the library would be making better citizens of them by doing nothing at all for them than if they supplied them with books they could read.

What, on the whole, could be more Americanizing than the feeling of loyalty which these alien people would soon feel for

the cosmopolitan library that welcomes them and in which they have a part and a place?

I believe still that the library should be an Americanizing institution, but it must reach these people before it can Americanize them, and if it succeeds in making any one of them more contented and happy it has to that extent made him a more loyal American. Moreover, will not this land of his adoption profit more by the foreigner whose intelligence is increased, even if it is done through the medium of his own language? Discontent with surroundings and ignorance are the causes of rebellion and disloyalty to one's country, and both of these the library may help to dispel from the foreigner.

In the twenty-five years ending with 1895 one-third of the increase in our population was from foreign immigration; great numbers of these were paupers and illiterates, who join the ranks of the anarchists and learn to rail against us. If these foreigners become insane, we care for them in our hospitals; if they become criminal, we pay for bringing them to justice and keeping up the machinery of reformatories and prisons. The public funds are drawn upon continually in their behalf. It is certainly just as legitimate a use of public funds that some of it be used by the public library for the elevation of these same men and women. The money spent in foreign literature may mean just that much less for prisons and asylums. It is the ounce of prevention.

We are accustomed to use all of our ingenuity to attract to our libraries the illiterate of our own race; we urge their children to come, and allure them with picture-books and pleasant rooms; we want the newsboy and the factory girl, but we want also the maids in our kitchens and the foreign laborer who digs our streets. Every reason which justifies our efforts to attract in the one instance does in the other, and if foreign literature is the bait which will draw any foreign element, then it is as legitimate as any attraction that we use.

One objection urged against the purchase of books in foreign languages is that we exclude from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the readers from using the book, but that might be said of almost any class in the library. Why purchase technical or professional books, or rare and valuable books, for fully eighty per cent of the readers will be excluded from reading them. It cannot be a wrong to these eighty per cent of the readers that the other twenty per cent are getting what they want. It is for the

benefit of the whole community that every part of it should be enlightened.

But the library, while having obligations to the state in the way of making good citizens, and to the community to spend the funds legitimately, has obligations also toward the individual. There are strangers within our gates to whom we owe hospitalities and whose lives we can cheer. How many times do we hear of the loneliness of these people who have been transplanted, and how their loneliness drives them into morbidness and to the verge of insanity. Their mental growth is stopped and their lives stagnated. The library owes something to every individual man, woman and child. The library has no better cause for existence than to bring sunshine into individual lives, and it has not wholly fulfilled its mission if it leaves whole masses of people unreached.

It would be difficult to reach any conclusion as to where a library shall draw the line in providing for different nationalities. The state of library finances usually settles the fact that there must be a line. We cannot do all that we would do, and different conditions make the problem different in every library.

In theory, even if not possible in practice, it would seem that any nationality which had a desire for books and interest and enterprise enough to ask for them ought to have them, even if it must be in small quantities. The very asking is the furnishing of an opportunity. If we do not seek them in the highways and hedges, but find them actually knocking at the door, they surely ought to have a seat in the feast. This might be impracticable and even impossible in many libraries, but up to the present date the Minneapolis Public Library has never refused a request from any nationality, even if the finances allowed but a small outlay. We believe that by this means of drawing them to us we will assimilate them most rapidly, and by contact will dissolve race prejudice.

To sum up, we believe that the buying of foreign literature will help rather than hinder to foster Americanism. We believe that it is a legitimate use of public funds, and that it meets a duty which we actually owe to these strangers. We believe, also, that it is true of libraries, as of individuals, that "He liveth best who loveth best."

The Library Journal. 23:229-31. June, 1898.

AN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE LIBRARY

J. MAUD CAMPBELL

PIONEER LIBRARIAN WORKER WITH IMMIGRANTS, SECRETARY MASSACHUSETTS IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

Our opportunity came with our work among the foreign-speaking people—through having a beautiful little building, given to the town by one of our big-hearted citizens, situated in a section surrounded by between 12,000 and 13,000 people who could not speak English, far less read it.

Perhaps natural curiosity prompted the first invasion of our library by this foreign population. Many foreigners came to look, and when they found newspapers in their home languages, their pride was touched and appeals came in to us from members of different nationalities for books in their own languages. The accumulation of about 1,000 volumes in eleven languages has furnished many amusing and interesting experiences. Quite confidently I started out to get books in languages and literatures of which I knew little or nothing, thinking it would be a very simple matter; it did not prove as simple as it sounds. So my next move was to get the people to say specifically what they wanted and where the books could be purchased, and our orders went flying to dealers in towns you cannot even find on the map. But the books came and gave satisfaction, only to be followed by the cry for "more, more." However even the most patriotic Slovak, Bohemian, Pole, or Russian has to confess that from two to five hundred titles exhaust the popular books in his literature, and my patrons came to the point where they had no more titles to suggest, but wanted more books to read. We then asked them why they did not read English books, for while we had only a few hundred in their languages, we had many thousands in English, many of which related to their own countries. The reply was that they could not read English, and when we asked them why they did not learn there came the astonishing answer that it was very difficult for a working man to get any one to teach him to read—there were some young men who went around tutoring at fifty cents a lesson, but they were so busy it was hard to get them. What about our boasted public schools? A visit to the board of

education brought the information that no state assistance was given for the education of persons over twenty years of age, and anything done for adults must be done by the city alone.

I have little patience with the sentiment so often heard—"we can't expect to do anything with the adult immigrant, but we will do the best we can for the children"—and I fear that expresses a spirit of false economy. Statisticians have figured that every child carried through the public schools to what is called "the age of production" has cost the state \$1,000 for education and protection, and there are still seven years to pass before the boys have a voice in our national government. Yet we are willing to spend this money and wait all these years in order that when the boys do claim the privileges of citizenship, they shall cast an intelligent vote. Now here come the adult immigrants, bringing the supply of muscle we need so much for development of the country, without having cost us one cent either for education or protection, and becoming, at once, not only producers, but consumers. Of these the majority come with the prime of life before them, more coming between the ages of twenty and forty than at any other age period. In twelve states in the Union they can vote in one year after declaring their intention, in no state do they have to wait more than seven years, and in the majority only five, and in New Jersey there are today over 48,709 males of voting age who cannot speak English. Can we afford to say it is not worth while doing anything for these people? They are going to become citizens—not always because they care to vote, or are interested in the welfare of our government, but for a thousand and one personal reasons they think citizenship will advance; they are going to vote, and they are going to sell their votes just as long as there are American traitors enough to their country to offer to buy them. I understand the new naturalization law has made it compulsory for a foreigner to be able to read and write in English before becoming a citizen, which makes it more incumbent upon us to see that facilities are offered to them to enable them to meet this just requirement.

In the cities, adults are admitted to night schools, but in classes with the young people who are compelled to go to school at night, if they are to be allowed to work during the day, and sometimes these young people are not very ambitious students. Then as the schools must be conducted as economically as possible, the teachers who teach in the day schools are allowed to increase their

salaries by teaching in the evening schools. They do not understand the languages spoken by the foreign pupils, so these people cannot ask questions, if there is anything they do not understand. Hearing no protest the teachers go gaily on, and the pupils lose one step after another until they become discouraged and stop school, feeling that it is too difficult for them, that they can never learn. I do not think it ever enters the minds of these people to question the method of instruction, if they do not learn; the fault must be theirs, there is nothing wrong with the schools. But discussions with several nationalities have brought out the facts that each nationality would prefer to have one class for all of its own people, mixed classes being confusing; they want a teacher who will understand their language, so they can ask questions; the regular school curriculum is not what they want; they want simply to learn to speak, read and write in English, and to know some of the more important laws of the community, which they must not break. The law holds a very important place in the eyes of the foreigner, yet in spite of their interest in this country, we cannot find books in their own languages giving the state laws, city laws, police ordinances, or board of health regulations of the cities of this state.* The only way for these people to find out what the law is, is to break it, and be arrested and fined.

Of course, the remedy for ignorance is education, and on bringing these facts to the attention of those controlling the educational interests of New Jersey, the legislature last winter authorized the Governor to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the actual condition of the adult immigrant. On the strength of the report made, Governor Stokes in his annual message asked the incoming legislature to do something to assist the foreign-speaking people to learn the conditions surrounding their lives here. He suggested that this might well come under the state board of education, and after conference with the members of this board, a bill was prepared, offering state aid to municipalities desiring schools for adult immigrants, providing the municipalities raised an equal sum, as is done in regard to manual training in this state. These schools will follow the recommendations made by the Immigrant Commission as to subjects taught, teachers, etc., and if the bill becomes a law, it will enable any town in the state to offer educational assistance to its foreign-speaking inhabitants.

* Numbers of such books are printed now in all languages.—*Editor.*

It is well to speak of things we succeed in securing, but perhaps it is also as well to acknowledge where we fail. I have emphasized this subject, as an educational opportunity but mainly in the hope that we may be enabled to secure the right sort of literature on this country, historically and socially, in foreign languages. So far we have nothing in view but a couple of small primers, in a most elementary form. I do not like foreigners to become imbued with the idea that Orsi, Romussi, Cermak, Schmidt, Dyniewicz, or Badad are American historians, yet these are the people who are writing our history for them. Bryce's "American commonwealth" has been translated, but recognized American historians are unknown to the foreigners. Perhaps the schools will remedy this lack of literature, and I wish it were possible for the library associations to help. . . .

The Library Journal. 32:157-8. April, 1907.

THE LIBRARY AND THE FOREIGN-SPEAKING MAN

PETER ROBERTS

SECRETARY INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, YOUNG MEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

When the books of Lester F. Ward were issued in Russia the censors seized and confiscated them; when Mr. Paryski, a printer of Polish books and papers in the city of Toledo, sends his commodity to Russia, he has to bribe some of the Governors of the Provinces, and when bribes do not work his agents risk their life and liberty. In Southern Italy and the Balkan States the press is under the surveillance of ecclesiastics, and what the church condemns has little chance to see the light of day. Censorship, either by the government or the church, is exercised with rigor in many countries of Europe, and not a few men are now refugees in America because they advocated, either by pen or tongue, the freedom of the press and liberty of speech; others, less fortunate in making their escape, now suffer in prison.

It is very different in America. The freedom of the press and liberty of speech have been more fully realized in this country than in any other part of the world. We have thousands of libraries founded for the people, where all, regardless of social status, are invited to come; books are not withheld, but offered

freely. We believe that the degree of intelligence found in the rank and file of the masses is the measure of success of a democracy. The trend of modern civilization is to popularize knowledge—make it as attractive as possible to the masses. In thousands of cities in America, men who want to read can find well lighted and well heated rooms, where they may study a range of subjects not in the perspective of scholars a century ago. This free press, free speech, free dissemination of knowledge and inducements to learn, is a priceless heritage and should be passed on to coming generations.

In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, there are more than ten million peoples, the majority of whom live in urban communities; more than 40 per cent. are of foreign birth, which means a population of nearly four and one quarter millions. We sometimes feel apprehensive of American institutions when gross ignorance of them is met with among the native-born; but what shall we say of the four and one-quarter millions who have not been trained in our public schools, whose conception of government is often a blood-stained sword or a smoking musket, and whose culture and training have fallen short of ideals in our republic? If the heritage of free speech and a free press is to be retained, if we hope to perpetuate a system of free education, if refined agencies consecrated to the dissemination of knowledge are to be continued, the genius of the people must be cultivated in the foreign-born, so that they will fully appreciate the effort made to bring the light of truth and beauty to the masses.

What can the libraries do to bring about this consummation? They can carefully study the needs of the foreigner and intelligently meet these needs. I will mention a few of them.

A prime need of the foreign-speaking is a knowledge of the English language, and it is our privilege and duty to help him to secure the same. Before you meet again in your annual session nine hundred thousand foreigners will have landed in America, all of whom speak a foreign tongue. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Hoboken and Passaic, there are whole sections where nothing but a foreign tongue is used. Walk the streets of Newark or Scranton on a Saturday evening when the wage-earners do their marketing, and the sound of foreign tongues prevails on all sides. As long as these people use only their mother tongue, they will be alien in sentiment and spirit. They will not enter into our life nor the spirit of America. The first step in the process of assimilation is a knowledge of the English language. It should

be the concern of employers of labor, educators in city and state, statesmen of state and nation, social workers, religious and philanthropic agencies, to cooperate in this great undertaking. The Pole should retain his mother tongue, the German should continue to speak German, the Italian should retain his native language, but if these men come to live in America, it is best for all concerned that they should learn as soon as possible the language of the shop and factory, the market and the court, the forum and the pulpit.

Librarians can do much to help this work. In the Tompkins Square Library, New York City, a class of thirty-eight foreigners meets twice a week to study English. It was brought together by an assistant librarian, who is of foreign birth. In another library fifty Bohemians meet regularly for instruction, brought together by an assistant librarian who is a Bohemian. The head librarian takes interest in the class, visits it and gets acquainted with the men; if any are absent he sends cards to them urging better attendance; if they come to the library they talk to them about the work. The librarian keeps a supply of blank forms on hand which may be filled by anyone who wants to join the class; these forms are given the men who visit the building to take out books in foreign tongues. The force in the library advertise the work, and never forget to speak highly of the efforts of both teacher and scholar.

Does this work pay? The librarians say it does. Last year it was an experiment: this year the librarians ask for classes. The foreigners are brought in touch with the library, the librarian gets closer to the foreigners and revises his judgment concerning them, while the quiet, refining influences of the library act favorably upon the alien. What we do in Manhattan is possible everywhere. If all libraries, having available room for a class in English, and having foreigners to draw upon, were to do this, a mighty force to help the foreigner would be set in operation.

Another need of the foreigner is naturalization. Thousands of men knock at the door of citizenship, but they cannot enter, for the day of wholesale manufacturing of alien voters is past. Uncle Sam has placed this privilege within the sacred precincts of a court of record, where the feet of sinister politicians do not tread. The alien has a right to expect a helping hand to secure his naturalization papers, and it ought to be our privilege to give

it. In this work librarians have helped materially. Indeed, the teaching of English and classes in naturalization are closely related. Many a teacher gives his pupils a knowledge of the language by discussing questions pertaining to the government of our country. Few foreign-speaking men can prepare themselves for naturalization by reading. A man may, in the quiet of his room, answer all the questions a judge may ask, but in the court room he is confused and his English leaves him. Our men in weekly classes under the guidance of a young lawyer discuss the principles of government, and when they appear in court they are confident that they can pass the examination, and they do so with a skill that would put many a native-born young man to shame.

The foreigner also should have a knowledge of the history of America, its resources, its institutions, its ideals, and an acquaintance with our habits and customs. Some cities and towns plan courses of lectures, but the foreigner is not in the perspective of the committee preparing the program. It is good work to give English-speaking men in cities and towns a glimpse into the realm of art and science, fiction and poetry, inventions and recent discoveries, but the foreigner ought also to be taken into consideration and a special course of instruction prepared for him. In every city where more than five thousand foreigners live there should be a hall specially prepared for their benefit and into which they should be let on stated occasions. On the one side of the room should be a map of the United States in relief showing the cotton belt, the wheat and corn territories, the forests, the fruit gardens of the nation, our wealth in cattle, our mineral resources, etc. Alongside of the map should be samples of the product of the soil, pictures of the cattle on a thousand hills and an exhibition of the productions of mill and factory. On the other three walls should be pictures devoted to history; the first would cover the period from the landing of Columbus to the struggle for independence, depicting the conflict of nations for a new world. The story of the pilgrim and cavalier, the records of red men and white men during peace and conflict, and the strong faces of brave souls who laid the foundation of American civilization. The second would tell of conflict: the conflict of arms, when brave men risked all in the fight for independence and in the struggle for the preservation of the Union; the conflict of peace, when brave men marched westward winning an unknown land, and never resting until their feet touched the waters of the Pa-

cific Ocean. On this wall should be the strong faces of martyrs in peace and in war—men who carried the Stars and Stripes from the Alleghenies to the Cordilleras, and bequeathed to subsequent generations a continent to explore and develop. The third wall would depict the matchless industrial progress of the United States: the railroads that thread the continent, the ships that traverse rivers, lakes and oceans, the marvelous inventions to convert the ore of the hills to finished products, the triumphs of engineers and statesmen; and here also would be the faces of uncrowned kings whose will was stronger than iron and steel and whose works bless and enrich the sons of men. Into this hall the foreigner should come and there he would be introduced into the sources of that enthusiasm that kindles the ardor of fifteen million scholars in our public schools; that shone in the beacon lights that led thousands of warriors to die for their country; and which today keeps bright the flame of patriotism upon eighteen million altars in the homes of the land. By this means we should set aglow with holy ardor the heart of the foreigner so that he would give us the best that is in him for the land of his adoption.

If there are any libraries that will try this experiment it would be worth while, for it may be pioneer work to be copied by cities interested in the foreigner.

The foreigner also needs appreciation. America received much from the old world. Each nation on the continent of Europe has contributed something to the advancement of civilization. It is our privilege to acknowledge this. It can be done by arranging talks upon eminent men of foreign birth in our own nation and also men in foreign lands who have rendered invaluable service to humanity. The story of most nations is instinct with self-sacrifice and self-surrender; incidents of heroism and glorious achievement may be found in every nation represented in our immigration streams. If lectures incorporating these incidents were systematically given the foreigner would feel better, his self-respect would be strengthened and the son and daughter of the foreign-born would look with great complacency and sympathy upon the old folks whose heritage of heroism and achievements is by no means small. It is unfortunate to divide foreign-born families, but this is inevitable if we lead the children of foreign-born to a full appreciation of America and its interesting

story, and forget that God imparts the stuff of which heroes are made without respect to nationalities.

In addition to lectures upon heroes in peace and war from among various nationalities, much can be done to remove prejudice against the foreigner if a wise selection of books were made dealing intelligently and sympathetically with the question of immigration. Books giving the story of the nations from which we draw our immigrants should be recommended to the native-born. There is no antidote against prejudice as effective as intimate knowledge of the foreigner. The more we know of each other the better we get along. The same law holds true with the foreigner—the better we know him the less objectionable he appears, no matter what nationality he represents.

My last point is that the foreigner must be touched upon the spiritual side. A poem, a picture, a song or a beautiful building has a soothing effect upon all of us; so has it on the foreigner. These men who come from foreign lands, where song, poetry, architecture and sculpture are a part of their daily life, are refined, no matter if they are unskilled workers. An Italian laborer bows as gracefully as a courtier, a Russian peasant knows how to show his appreciation; they have been taught gentility in songs of the ancients, in the folklore of their ancestors, in the ballads of their country, and in the beautiful temples and cathedrals hoary with the weight of years. This refinement which sits so naturally on the foreign workingman is worth preserving, and it can be done if, in every town, centers of refinement are established to which the working people can go.

I have seen libraries that have caught the vision of beauty and truth in their relation to the town. It is expressed as far as means and opportunity allow. A piece of statuary that is graceful, a picture that has harmonious tones, and figures which are refined, the colors on wall and wood are quiet and tasty, order and cleanliness are apparent on all sides. No one can enter such a place without feeling better for it. I hope to see the day when every town and city will have a place of refinement where workmen can see a beautiful picture, hear a sweet song, and feel the quieting, refining influences of architecture. These would be temples from every part of which radiates a spirit that subdues the savage beast in the human breast, strikes off the rough corners of our coarse nature and raises the soul into closer touch with the spirit that reigns and works for righteousness, peace

and justice in this world of ours. This is not a dream; it is realized in part in many libraries, and may the day come when it will be realized more fully in every library in the land.

The Library Journal, 36:496. October, 1911.

THE LIBRARY'S PART IN MAKING AMERICANS.

The present war, involving the countries from which America derives so large a part of its immigrant population, and arousing in this population such diverse national sympathies and passions, brings to the public library one problem with special emphasis and directness. Hitherto, work with foreigners has been largely a matter for academic discussion and, except in a few localities where this population is particularly numerous or where the librarian is particularly interested, it has been treated as merely a side issue. Some earnest library workers have even questioned whether it is right or patriotic to provide reading for those who cannot use the common language of our country. Now the matter is no longer one for debate, discussion or difference of opinion. To everyone who loves his country, one duty now stands out as supreme, to develop in our entire population, whatever its racial sympathies or whatever its native tongue, such a regard and devotion for our country and its institutions as shall put America first in the hearts of all who breathe our air or share in our common life and privileges. The supreme duty of the hour for every American and every American institution is to cultivate, solidify and unify the sentiment of American patriotism, to develop this sentiment to such a point that it shall assure inner unity and concord amid all the conflicting appeals of foreign interests.

The task is a huge one. There are, according to the last census, 6,646,817 men in this country, old enough to vote, who were born in other lands. These people constitute twenty-five per cent of the whole male population old enough to vote. Less than half this number, about 3,000,000, are naturalized citizens, three and a half millions are not. The figures are startling. Three and a half millions of men, over twenty-one years old, living in this country, who, whether through choice or neglect, are legal subjects of foreign countries! Numerous institutions and civic or-

ganizations have lately awakened to the seriousness and possible dangers of this situation, and have started a nationwide propaganda for the turning of these aliens into Americans. It has already met with notable success. With the great majority of these foreigners in our midst, there is a natural predisposition in favor of America, making this propaganda an easy one. They are here because of this predisposition; the present state of the Old World gives added force to this predisposition. All that is needed, in most cases, is a quickening of impulse, an awakening to the meaning of citizenship and its privileges, a better understanding of the things for which this country stands, or a spirit of welcome that shall make them feel at home and among friends in their new country. For the rendering of this service we can think of no institution more peculiarly fitted than the public library, and therefore no institution on which there rests a more direct responsibility. In the free public library, America appears at its very best in the eyes of the foreigner. In its open doors are typified all that he has come to America to seek, opportunity, equality, freedom, the privilege of entering into the intellectual and moral heritage of the race. It needs only to be true to its own proper spirit and function and to make due provision for the part it is thus called upon to play in this matter to become a powerful factor in this great work of transforming aliens into loyal and patriotic Americans. The question is not, as it has so often been put, does it owe the foreigners this service? The question is, does it owe America this service? and to this question there can be but one answer.

Editorial, *New York Libraries*. 4:235-6. August, 1915.

THE HOME

THE IMMIGRANT FAMILY

BY SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE

SOCIAL WORKER, LAWYER, SECRETARY IMMIGRANT PROTECTIVE LEAGUE,
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From the point of view of the community the immigrant family presents itself as the problem of assimilation. This should mean the exercise of hospitality, offering what we have of good, and asking from them what is strong and vigorous for the common life. This is not the way in which it is always regarded. We use the bodily strength of the immigrants and transmute it into railroads and great structures of all kinds, but the peculiar values of their historic background, of their aspiration to a larger freedom, of their desire that their children should have nobler, freer lives than they have had—from these we often fail to extract any beauty or grace. We encourage them to exchange the scarf and shawl for the transfigurator and the America hat, and think we have assimilated them. We substitute the moving-picture show and the dance hall for the village festival and the folk dance and are not mindful of the waste and loss of it all. We have invented or applied several devices, especially for the service of children. We think rightly of the school as a great Americanizing device; but we are learning that the school cannot adequately serve the children without taking notice of the homes from which they come. The school visitor or the visiting teacher will help in the direction of interpreting the school and the home to each other to their mutual advantage. Other important devices are, of course, the health department, supplemented by adequate birth registration, supervision and control of midwives, and sanitary inspection, and the recreation center, equipped to serve the social needs of the entire family group. . . .

But we may turn to look at the same problem from the point of view of the family, when it becomes the problem of adjustment or of readjusting old habits and practices to new demands

and new ideals. This must be at best full of hardship and pain. Strangers in a strange land, with language and customs different, the great agony of home-sickness alone would bind to the new arrivals any heart which had passed through the same kind of an uprooting. And to this suffering, are often added poverty, exploitation and frequently disaster. Now, most families succeed in making this readjustment and respond to these influences of assimilation. Problems of poverty are found in our crowded foreign neighborhood, but unless they are complicated by some retarding influence, such as peculiarly corrupt political organization or a sectarian religious influence narrow beyond what is common, they are hopeful rather than hopeless, they are problems connected with the efforts to get up and out on to a higher level of comfort and efficiency. There is, however, the small number of immigrant family groups who are admitted but deported within three years of their arrival, who fail piteously, and in connection with whose difficulties, I believe, social workers have not taken advantage of their full opportunity. . . .

The immigrant family in the community, but not of the community. Proceedings of the Conference of Charities and Corrections, p. 70-71, 1914.

TEACHING THE IMMIGRANT WOMAN

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR

When Mrs. Annie L. Hansen, under the direction of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, undertook single-handed not long ago the domestic education of the immigrant households of Buffalo, there was no cheerful precedent to guide her. However, she knew very well what she was about and was thoroughly equipped for it, as domestic educating isn't a profession that can be taken up casually by women who have merely text-book knowledge and a vague sociological bent. Mrs. Hansen had had training in two hospitals, had been both a private and a district nurse, had kept house for eleven years, and had the further essential of a winning personality. In short, she was ready for practically any tenement emergency. Having decided to begin with the Polish and Hungarian territory, her first move was to establish friendly co-operative relations with such schools, hospitals, churches and charity organizations as had any connection with this district, obtaining from these various sources a

list of families that because of poverty or ignorance or illness were in especial need of the kind of help it was her vocation to give. She then set out to make her first tentative round of visits.

Of course they were not easy visits to make. Well-dressed strangers of competent air so seldom knocked at those shabby doors, there seemed no reason for believing that one of them had actually come with simple, neighborly intent! In a few cases, it is true, the women were perceptive enough to be instantly friendly and grateful. Others were, quite naturally, secretive and suspicious. One or two were openly hostile; even, through their narrowly opened doorways, fluently vituperative. But the second visit dispelled all suspicion, and the third often established an almost disconcerting intimacy. This was obviously because Mrs. Hansen did not limit herself to pointing out the women's mistakes and giving them advice. On the contrary, this is what she did:

At her first visit she would find, perhaps, clustering about an anxious, harried mother, a group including a pallid baby and four or five anæmic, listless brothers and sisters. Sympathetic questioning would reveal that the unhappy mother was utterly at a loss as to how to feed her brood in this strange country, where meat was so costly and grocers' food didn't agree with the children and nothing was as it had been at home. But what did they eat—milk? Yes, canned milk, from the grocer. Bread? Yes, from the baker; small loaf, that cost too much and was too soon eaten. Soup? Yes, canned soup; sometimes very poor.

Noting these points and finding that every woman she visited made practically the same confession, Mrs. Hansen would make her second visit armed with packages of cereals. The Polish mother would shake her head with dismal scepticism at the sight of this odd, dry, uninteresting-looking food. Nevertheless she watched and wondered and learned as she was shown with how little trouble and at what small cost this new substance could be served as a palatable and nourishing meal, sure to make pale children healthy and strong if they ate enough of it.

But dietetic reform did not stop here. Every mother was willing to admit that her baby was the most important member of the family. But in that case, she was told, the question of its diet should come first of household considerations, and the fundamental truth was taught her that babies cannot live on "canned" milk. Fresh milk was shortly insinuated in its stead in every

household where there was a young child, and in as many others as possible. The extravagance and folly of buying baker's bread was next taken up, but not without at the same time teaching the women to make their own bread. The value and economy of substantial homemade soups and stews were learned with surprising readiness.

As the lessons progressed various pleasant things came to pass. The encouraged mothers grew cheerful as their languid babies learned to smile. The cereal and soup fed children thrive. Where mere fault-finding would have had no result, practical demonstrations, carefully adapted to the woman's comprehension, captivated and entranced. Not only did the pupil herself take great pride in preparing a new dish, but neighbors, friends and cousins sprang up in great numbers to share in the new and exciting domestic gospel. A certain Ruthenian woman proved so teachable that she rapidly passed the elementary stage, and one Saturday a patient Educator (the staff had shortly been increased to four) called to help her prepare for Sunday some simple embellishments of the austere diet that had prevailed through the week. Dropping in on Monday to see whether the husband and children had enjoyed their simple treat, she found, to her amazement that the tenement was swarming with neighbors, all delightedly and noisily engaged in eating up the remains of Sunday's carnival of sponge cake, coffee bread and raised biscuit. Nor did she escape without promising to visit each insistent guest at her own home and teach her to construct these delicate marvels for herself.

In the matter of clothing the women were equally ignorant and equally teachable. The mothers were sincere in protesting that they would be glad to make cheap, simple garments for themselves and their children if they only knew how. In these cases they were supplied with a pattern and enough material for one garment and given one or more lessons in cutting, fitting and fashioning it. These lessons, like those in cooking, proved to have an irresistible fascination for whole communities. The Educator who had charge of the Italian district found that if she made an appointment with one ambitious Italian housewife to cut and fit a skirt, a relative would appear within five minutes with a piece of white cloth that she must be shown how to convert into a shirtwaist, while at more or less regular intervals during the afternoon neighbors with soft, persuasive voices and bewitching

Italian smiles would present themselves with their individual bundles and the entreaty, "Oh, please, missis, me, too!" And as she left the house, the exhausting but profitable session finally concluded, still other candidates for instruction would pounce eagerly from dark doorways to accost the "teacher" and gain her promise of help.

Very often first acquaintance with a family would disclose cases of defective vision or of adenoids, which were attended to with beneficent despatch. Or an ailing husband in need of specific treatment would be marched off to the dispensary and given the necessary medicine, so that he could shortly get back to work. Or a sick child, lying in bed, would be feverish and fretful for lack of simple attentions.

The opportunity would be seized to teach the mother how to bathe the child gently without disturbing it, and she would further be persuaded to give it clean linen and to leave the window open. Such lessons as these were naturally less popular. While it may be easy to interest untaught but strongly prejudiced women in cooking and sewing, it is never anything short of a heroic labor, as all missionaries to the poor have discovered, to reconcile them to water and air.

One Polish woman confessed that she had never used soap on her six-year-old boy, as, because of some temperamental sensitiveness in which she displayed a certain pride, he was afraid of water.

Once a week, therefore, she had washed his hands, conscientiously stopping at the wrists, and then rolled the rest of him in a wet blanket! And a family that had been brought to the radical extreme of leaving a window open while sleeping complained persistently of the "draught" until the Educator herself obligingly nailed a board on the window-frame in such fashion that the air reached the sleepers indirectly.

In fact, it has not been an easy matter to convert whole households to habits of cleanliness and hygiene. Poverty, unrepaid tenements, lack of social stimulus, are all profoundly discouraging factors. However, because of its importance the Educators worked hard at this reform. Some women mended their ways when at last they were made to understand the reasons for it. Others seemed hopelessly slovenly. Among these was an Italian woman, notoriously shiftless and unclean, and long the despair of various philanthropic agencies. One interview between this

woman and the undiscouraged Educator took place in the presence of her husband. "Why do you bother my wife?" remarked this lenient and philosophic consort. "Some people are born clean and some dirty, and my wife was born dirty. She's happy, so why bother her?"

The incredible sequel of this episode is that because of personal help and constant encouragement on the part of the Educator, this woman has now a clean and wholesome home in which she takes a naïve pride. Indeed, she was so pleased with her own advancement that she allowed the Educator to hold a class in her home, where little girls and sometimes their mothers were taught bed-making and all kinds of household work.

These classes of young girls, which have been held regularly in all the districts, are considered a highly important branch of the work. The workers find that all the instruction given the girls is carried directly home to the mothers and then applied by both. Young girls from twelve to fifteen are taught how to make their own garments, an art that interests them no less than it does their mothers. They are also given frank and emphatic lessons in personal hygiene, rank after rank of them becoming speedy and delighted converts to the toothbrush, to frequent bathing, and to fresh air.

They are also taught the dangers of coffee-drinking, and what constitutes wholesome food. The Educators make a strong appeal to these young creatures by reminding them that they all wish to have beautiful faces, clear skins, and happy tempers in order to be well loved and have happy homes later on. It is then pointed out how these desirable things may be secured, and the information is of course received and applied with the greatest eagerness.

Harper's Bazaar. 47:277-8. June, 1913.

DOMESTIC EDUCATION AMONG IMMIGRANTS

NORTH AMERICAN CIVIC LEAGUE FOR IMMIGRANTS

"Domestic Education" is the term applied to a new experiment in education which has been made during the past year by the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants.

This committee was organized in December, 1909, for the purpose of developing permanent city, state and federal policies regarding conditions created by present immigration. Its experiments are made in the two states of New York and New Jersey, these experiments being turned over to the responsible agency, whether private enterprise, city, state or federal department, as soon as a successful policy of meeting conditions has been demonstrated.

With one million immigrants a year arriving in the United States, 650,000 coming through the port of New York, and over 300,000 a year locating in New York and New Jersey, the necessity of definite systems of protection, education, distribution and assimilation are only too obvious.

Educational systems to fit the needs of the newly arrived, ignorant and illiterate immigrant become as essential a part of the educational policies of city, state and country as educational systems to meet the needs of the native-born.

One of the most important educational experiments which the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants has made is Domestic Education. This is an experiment to supplement the work of the public schools with consecutive, constructive educational work in the homes. The great majority of alien children, and children of alien parents, leave school at the age of fourteen. The boys have received practically no training in civics and understand little or nothing of their responsibility to the community. The girls have received practically no training in the vital things of life. Girls of foreign nationalities marry at the age of from fifteen to eighteen, wholly unequipped for the problems before them.

The argument that "our hope is in the rising generation" loses its force when we see all about us evidence that the "rising generation" is bringing forth a weaker generation than the present generation. The immigrant mothers and fathers know nothing of American standards of living and have little opportunity (the mothers, the home-makers, much less than the fathers) of coming in contact with American standards, living as they do in foreign colonies, speaking their own language, and living according to their own standards. They know little or nothing of the conditions and temptations to which their boys and girls are exposed in their new surroundings.

A little over a year ago the New York-New Jersey Commit-

tee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants started in Buffalo, New York, its experiment in Domestic Education, and since that time has extended the experiment to New York City and Rochester; to Mineville, a mining community of 3,000 people; to Barren Island, New York, an industrial community of 1,400 people; a cannery camp at Albion, New York, and an aqueduct labor camp at Valhalla, thus including three distinct types of cities and four distinct types of isolated communities.

The requirements which the League demands regarding training of a Domestic Educator are that she shall have had a good English education, nursing training, domestic-science training, and social experience. The Domestic Educator first makes a general survey of her community; a group of thirty to forty families most needing education is selected, the work is tactfully explained to them, and definite consecutive education is started. The instruction given is in—

1st. Ventilation—the value of fresh air in its relation to health.

2d. Sanitation—the importance of keeping drain-pipes clear, toilets clean, and disposal of garbage and flies.

3d. Care and feeding of babies, including instruction in prenatal care.

4th. Hygiene—personal and sex hygiene.

5th. Household Economics—economical purchase and preparation of food; improving appearance and comfort of home.

6th. Advice in regard to educational, recreational and social facilities of the community.

The work is undertaken slowly, the instruction given almost entirely by demonstration, and the reasons for following instructions are always carefully explained. As the work progresses classes in cooking, sewing, treatment of common illnesses, marketing, etc., are organized. Public schools are used when possible for the classes.

Harper's Bazaar. 47:278. June, 1913.

HOUSING AND AMERICANIZATION

MORRIS KNOWLES

Americanization is more a psychological process than a physical one. And yet everyone knows how powerfully his mental state is affected by physical condition and surroundings. An old Roman proverb reminds us that a healthy mind and spirit can reside permanently only in a sound body; and the maxim is no less true when we extend the meaning of "body" to include the whole physical environment.

The evil environment set up by bad housing requires no demonstration here. The time has passed when it will be disputed that bad housing injures both personal and public health; that overcrowding and lack of privacy lead to immorality; that the employee can bring vitality and enthusiasm to his work only when he comes from decent home conditions; that contentment is possible only when leisure hours can be spent in healthful recreation, free from evil temptation; and that civic spirit and loyalty to community, state and nation can be cultivated only in happy homes and pleasant environment. The relation of housing to Americanization, therefore, is apparent. Decent homes are a prime necessity as a physical basis for the development of American ideals in the immigrant who comes to our shores.

Housing problems, of course, become more serious in proportion as concentration of population increases. The tendency of recent years toward combination of industries into large units, the resultant concentration of great numbers of employees and their families within small areas, and the growth of immigration have therefore given especial importance to the influence of housing on Americanization. The same conditions, moreover, have imposed an especial obligation upon the employer, somewhat in proportion to the size of his organization. His enterprise and the accumulation of capital under his direction have collected a great aggregation of people, with all their human needs and aspirations, perhaps from the ends of the earth. How then can he avoid his responsibility to them to make possible normal, healthy living in the new conditions in which they find themselves; and his duty to the state to provide an environment suitable for the development of American ideals and the cultivation of community pride and civic responsibility?

Formerly, the employer excused himself for failing to fulfill these obligations on the ground that it was impossible to provide better housing for immigrants because of their lack of appreciation of such facilities; or that the expense would be prohibitive. But the ancient legend of the "bathtub-filled-with-coal" is now seldom heard. Many realize that, on the contrary, immigrants can frequently assimilate American standards faster than we realize, and that the untidiness in which we find them living is more often the result of hopeless despair after a vain struggle with the wretched facilities we have provided than the expression of a lack of desire for better things.

Even more thoroughly has the "prohibitive-expense" fallacy been exploded, for it is now seen not only that the cost is repaid, but that a substantial balance of profit on good housing results from decrease of lost time due to illness; improvement of efficiency through increase of contentment; securing of pick of labor force; a more stable organization free from disruption by casual labor and by the necessity of continually training new men; and generally, more satisfactory relations with employees and relief from industrial strife.

Moreover, when maintenance cost and total annual expense are taken into consideration, the additional cost of sanitary dwellings, above that of unsatisfactory un-American accommodations, is in itself slight.

Immigrants in America Review. 2:45-6. July, 1916.

NATURALIZATION

AMERICANIZATION DAY

Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, addressed this letter to the mayors of American cities:

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Immigration Service

Office of
Commissioner of Immigration,
Ellis Island, New York Harbor, N. Y.

May 22nd, 1915.

My dear Sir:

You may be interested in learning of a most significant civic demonstration that may be of value to you in connection with the Fourth of July celebration in your city. I refer to the "Citizenship Reception," or "New Voters' Day" which the cities of Philadelphia, Cleveland, Baltimore and Los Angeles have recently held as a final step in the naturalization of foreign-born aliens.

Each year large numbers of aliens are admitted to citizenship. The procedure for the most part is informal, and is attended with no recognition on the part of the community of its significance to America and to the alien. The purpose of the reception is to give dignity to the ceremony and at the same time impress its meaning upon all citizens.

The idea arose in Cleveland in 1914 when the "Sane Fourth Committee" assumed the responsibility for a program arranged by a committee representing all local patriotic and civic organizations. Through the clerks of naturalization, the names and addresses of all aliens admitted to citizenship during the preceding year were secured, and invitations for the reception were sent to each. At the reception each new citizen on entering the auditorium and showing his ticket was presented with a small American flag and also a seal button of the city with the word "Citizen" upon it. A platform decorated with the flags of all nations was reserved to seat the new citizens. The audience itself

was secured by general publicity through the newspapers, which gladly gave publicity to the idea. The program opened with national airs. This was followed with the unfurling of a large American flag, the "Star Spangled Banner" being sung and the "Pledge of Allegiance" being recited in unison. Officials representing the nation, state and city made addresses, followed by a speech of appreciation by one of the prominent foreign-born citizens.

The significance of such receptions given on the Fourth of July is obvious. Should they become national in scope, they should have great civic value. I am sending you this information with the thought that you may desire to appoint a Mayor's Committee for the organization of such a reception in your city in connection with whatever exercise may be held on the Fourth of July.

There will be a "National Americanization Day Committee," which will furnish information and answer inquiries. I would appreciate having from you an expression of your ideas on this subject.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) FREDERIC C. HOWE,
Commissioner.

THE MEANING OF CITIZENSHIP

AN ADDRESS TO NEW CITIZENS

MAY 7, 1915

WILLIAM B. WILSON

SECRETARY OF LABOR

It is now about eight and a half years since the Division of Naturalization—now the Bureau of Naturalization—of the Federal Government was formed. During that time nearly 2,000,000 aliens have received their naturalization papers. Within the past three or four months the Federal and State courts in your city have admitted 3,900. I want to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the efficient manner in which these courts have handled the great task which has confronted them.

I congratulate you who are newly naturalized upon having attained the honor of American citizenship. In the course of your lifetime greater distinctions may come to you in the various activities in which you are engaged, but no greater honor can ever be yours than that of being a part ruler of the greatest Republic that it has pleased God to establish on earth. It should never be forgotten that the man who accepts citizenship in our country accepts with it his share of the responsibility for its proper direction and control. At this moment, when so many other nations are engaged in armed conflict and their passions have been stirred to such an extent that an appeal to their judicial sense of the rights of others is impossible, the greatest responsibility that rests upon our citizenship, new and old, is to keep a cool head and a clear vision. Our passions must not be permitted to obscure or dethrone our reason. If we can with honor avoid sacrificing our people and our property to the demons of war, we shall have performed a great service to humanity and shall be in a better position to help bind the wounds of those stricken nations when the time comes to urge the claims of peace.

The Declaration of Independence lays down the fundamental principles upon which our Government is formed when it declares: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." It must be remembered that the fathers were dealing not with the question of human capacity but with the question of human rights. And no matter how weak a man may be mentally, physically, or financially, his rights are equal to those of the most powerful of men.

Our Government is built upon the theory that it derives its just power from the consent of the governed, and therein rests your great responsibility. It is not enough to acquire a sufficient knowledge of our Constitution and forms of civil government to satisfy the court of your qualifications for admission into the great body of citizenship. That is only the beginning. You should not only understand the Constitution in a general way, but the purpose for which it was brought into existence; and you should aspire to the highest ideals attainable under it. Many of you come from countries having no written constitution, nothing

in the way of government that interferes with the will of the monarch or of the majority in congress immediately becoming law. And you may wonder at times why it is that our written Constitution makes it impossible for mere majorities of our Congress or legislative bodies to do certain things. Let me tell you why by citing the first amendment to the Constitution. It declares:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

In that article is embodied the essence of why the founders of our Government laid down some fundamental principles in the form of a Constitution that could not be changed by the mere will of a majority. There are certain rights that belong to minorities. No majority has the right to enforce its will concerning religion upon any man. That is a matter which must rest with the individual and his God. No majority has the right to abridge the freedom of speech of the minority or of the individual, although it has the right to hold him responsible for any abuse of that right when exercised by him. And if at any time you are prone to chafe because some conditions which you believe to be wrong can not be righted as speedily as you would wish because the Constitution stands in the way, remember that the same document also safeguards in the same way those human rights the exercise of which has made our country a model for all the earth.

Within the limits of our constitutions—Federal, State, and municipal—is found the opportunity for the development of the highest civilization that has ever existed amongst men, not because of our great economic opportunities, not because the poorest may aspire to the acquisition of great wealth, but because we have the privilege of working out the relation of man to man on the principle of fair play even to the weakest and most insignificant of our people. That wrongs exist and will continue to exist is to be expected in human institutions. It is easy to point out a wrong. It is an entirely different matter to discover a workable remedy for that wrong. One of the responsibilities that will rest upon you as citizens is to discover and put into operation practical remedies for any wrongs that may exist. In that respect the most valuable citizen is the practical idealist. Sentiment has been a great factor in human progress. Men will do more for a

sentiment than they will for all the wealth of the world. From time immemorial men have been willing to sacrifice their lives in support of their ideals. It was not the paltry wages that the soldiers received in the Revolutionary War that caused them to endure the many years of privation and suffering, the hardships in the camp, and the possibility of death upon the field in order that a government "of the people, by the people, for the people" might be established on earth. It was not the dollars that the soldiers of either side were paid during our Civil War that caused them to leave their homes and their loved ones and lay down their lives, a willing sacrifice to the Stars and Stripes or the Bonnie Blue Flag. In each case it was the sentiment behind an ideal that spurred them on to the sacrifice. The true patriot, the man who loves the country of his adoption, must be willing and ready to subordinate himself and his individual interests for the general welfare with the same ready devotion in times of peace as that which prompts him in times of war.

Those who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States can have no dual allegiance. Like you, Mr. Mayor, and the guests in this audience, I am one of those who were born abroad and have sworn allegiance to the United States. I love its institutions, I believe in its form of government, I glory in what it has achieved in the past and dream of still greater achievements for the future. Like everyone here, I love the land of my birth, but if I loved it more or as much as I love the land of my adoption I should not be here. I would return whence I came. I believe you are imbued with the same sentiment. You have broken home ties around which have been woven the history and traditions of centuries. You have cast your lot with a great Republic, in which the voice of the people is supreme. You have assumed your share of its responsibilities. You have become a part of the United States Government. You have a voice in its affairs and also in the affairs of the State and of the city. And now, if you exercise that voice properly, if you aspire to the highest ideals, if you are moved by the noblest sentiments, if you are guided by sound judgment and an honest purpose, you can help to make and to keep this country of ours great and still greater. And, what is more to be desired even than greatness, you can help to make it and keep it the best, the purest, the noblest nation on earth.

From Official Report to the Secretary of Labor.

THE NATURALIZATION RECEPTION, PHILADELPHIA, MAY 10, 1915

RICHARD K. CAMPBELL

COMMISSIONER OF NATURALIZATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR

In the latter part of the year 1914, upon my recommendation, the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization proceeded to Philadelphia upon official business, and while there discovered that in the office of the clerk of the United States district court there were from 5,000 to 6,000 applications of aliens resident within the jurisdiction of the court to file petitions for naturalization. He at once brought this condition of affairs to the attention of the court and proffered the assistance of the bureau to relieve the congestion.

This proffer was immediately accepted by the court, and upon presentation to the Secretary of Labor received his hearty indorsement.

Accordingly, acting under authority of the Secretary of Labor, the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization with a corps of experienced members of the personnel of the Bureau of Naturalization from Washington, in November, 1914, undertook the work in the United States district court in Philadelphia, with the result that 3,940 petitions for naturalization were filed during the following seven weeks.

On December 18, 1914, at a conference called by the judges of the United States circuit court of appeals and the United States district court, the Deputy Commissioner proposed the holding of a public reception by the city of Philadelphia to the candidates who should be admitted to citizenship upon the hearing by the court of their petitions, which were then being filed by the special force under his direction. This proposition, meeting with the approval of the judges, was presented to the Secretary of Labor and indorsed by him.

Acting under the authority of the Secretary of Labor the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization presented the project to the Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, mayor of the city of Philadelphia, who immediately adopted the proposal and arranged through the Secretary of Labor for a delegation to wait upon the President with an invitation to attend the reception.

The hearings of the petitions for naturalization were held in the United States district court, the Hon. John B. McPherson, Judge of the United States circuit court of appeals, presiding throughout all of the sessions, which extended in three periods from March 22 to and including May 7, 1915.

On May 10, 1915, in the Municipal Convention Hall in Philadelphia, in the presence of the newly naturalized citizens, their wives and children who derived citizenship through the naturalization of the husbands and fathers—in all representing approximately 8,500 accessions to the citizenship of the country—and the invited guests, aggregating an assemblage of approximately 18,000, impressive ceremonies were conducted.

These ceremonies consisted of patriotic addresses by the President of the United States; the Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, mayor of the city of Philadelphia; the Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; and the Hon. Joseph Buffington, dean of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, and the singing of national anthems by the assemblage led by a trained chorus of approximately 4,000 voices with orchestra accompaniment furnished by the police band of the city of Philadelphia. These impressive ceremonies were opened with an invocation by the Rev. Henry N. Coudert, Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives. The addresses as delivered upon the occasion follow herein in the order in which they were given in the program.

This reception was a memorable one and the sentiments expressed on that occasion will have a far-reaching effect in the accomplishment of the highest ideals in the administration of the naturalization law throughout the United States, and in the attainment of the ends toward which the Bureau of Naturalization and the entire judiciary of the United States are striving.

From *Official Report* to the Secretary of Labor

NATURALIZING THE ALIEN

RAYMOND F. CRIST

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR

It was an innovation in naturalization practice for an officer of the government to rise in a naturalization court and object to the conferring of citizenship upon an alien who was not qualified to assume with any degree of intelligence the responsibilities of American citizenship. The voice of the government has been raised, however, in objection, through the naturalization examiner, with such effect that over 74,000 applicants have been refused citizen's papers out of the 594,967 petitions for citizenship heard.

The habits of men are strong, and, notwithstanding the assumption of federal supervision over the naturalization laws, many organizations persisted in inducing, for purely selfish reasons, the unsuspecting and accommodating alien to accept the title. This influence was exerted almost invariably just preceding the holding of an election in any part of the country, and was attempted after the government undertook the supervision of the naturalization law.

Notwithstanding this seeming restriction of naturalization, the administrative policy has always been to facilitate the admission to citizenship in conformity with the legal requirements, of all qualified candidates. Conferences were held by the naturalization examiners with the naturalization judges and the public school authorities and as a direct result evening classes called "citizenship classes" were organized in the public schools in various parts of the country, and the naturalization courts directed the unprepared candidates to attend these classes before their petitions would be favorably heard. Public spirited and patriotic societies also organized and maintained classes at their own expense in many parts of the country, notably in Philadelphia, Rochester, Buffalo, St. Louis, New Bedford, Mass., Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Kansas City, Seattle, Minneapolis and Los Angeles. Celebrations were held in furtherance of this great work under the inspiration of the schools and of patriotic and

civic organizations in Brockton, Mass., Rochester, New Bedford, Mass., Cleveland, Chicago, Rock Island, Ill., Los Angeles, Philadelphia and many other places. There were celebrations by the courts in many places as early as 1907 when addresses on citizenship were delivered by the court, and by others, upon the invitation of the court. In some cities receptions are regularly held to the incoming candidates. By far the most important of all these receptions to the newly-naturalized citizens, and the one carrying a national influence, was the gathering in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915, at which the President addressed an assembly of over 19,000 citizens. Within two weeks there was launched a movement for the holding of similar receptions in all of the cities of the United States, and "Americanization Day" was proposed. An Americanization Day Committee was formed, and celebrations were held quite generally throughout the United States on last Independence Day. Today, the nation is aroused to the necessity for the Americanization of the entire populace, including those born in this land, as well as those born in any other country of the globe.

During 1913 and 1914 plans were formulated which led to a survey of the schools by the Bureau of Naturalization. This showed that the public school authorities were all most anxious to meet the needs of the non-English-speaking foreigner, but their equipment was found to be wholly inadequate. In May last, the Bureau announced its intention to secure nation-wide co-operation of the public school system as an aid in inculcating doctrines of patriotism in the minds of the candidates for citizenship. Today, this cooperation is a working reality in nearly 600 cities and towns in forty-three of the States of the Union, and embraces almost every community with a foreign population. The Bureau has perfected a system of personal contact with the entire resident alien body, through the public schools, by which not only the candidates for citizenship, but the immigrants as well, are being brought into the public schools. It has perfected a course of instruction in citizenship, which is in the hands of the public school teachers.

The course is not for the sole purpose of enabling the candidate to "answer the questions in court," nor to cover him with a veneer of American citizenship, but it is fundamental in its purpose and is based upon the two years which the candidate must await after he declares his intention to become a citizen before he

may be vested with that state by the court. The first year is devoted to the acquisition of a mastery of reading, writing and speaking in our tongue. The second year is devoted to a thorough, practical training in citizenship responsibilities. Under this course, the mayor of the city, the alderman, or councilmen, the heads of the various city departments—police department, the health department, the fire department and others, the city and national legislators, will come before the assembled student body and each tell of the duties of his particular office. After each of these officials has appeared, the class is required to discuss, deliberate and debate the duties told to them, so as to insure permanently fixing them in their minds. The sanctity of the franchise and purity of the ballot are clearly established in their minds. They are then required to perform all of the duties of the American citizen, to nominate, electioneer for, and elect a mayor and other officials of the city government, to formulate rules to govern themselves in the schools, in their places of employment, on the streets and in their homes, and rules of sanitation and to enforce these rules. The election of a presiding officer will inaugurate the breaking down of the lines of national prejudice in the student body and lay the basis for their unification and Americanization.

To bring the candidates for citizenship to the schools, the Bureau sends letters to them and their wives, inviting them to attend the schools, and points out the material advantages which will accrue to them.

The native-born American needs to feel the leavening influence of Americanization as surely as the alien uninformed of our institutions needs to have his capacity developed to enable him to understand them and choose whether he will accept and dedicate his life to them, or continue his allegiance to the sovereign of his nativity. Neither native nor foreign-born residents can be forced to feel the love of country. The lack of a sense of devotion to country is chargeable solely to ignorance where those institutions are for the universal and individual well being. If anyone is to pin his faith to our governmental institutions and continue loyal to them, he must clearly know what they are. A large body of educators believe that the only means by which our institutions of government can be taught to the non-English-speaking residents is through the agency of their compatriot who speaks their foreign tongue. That they are wrong will be dis-

covered by a survey of the public schools such as has been made by the writer. The American school teacher can transform the individual into a faithful, loyal and devoted American by the scores while the "educators" may be searching for the foreign-born linguist who is qualified to teach American patriotism. The linguistic qualification is more than apt to perpetuate the national groupings of foreign-born citizens than to effect their Americanization.

Nation's Business. 4:No. 2, part 1, 16-17. February, 1916.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

ADDRESS, MAY 10, 1915

JOSEPH BUFFINGTON

JUDGE, UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS, THIRD DISTRICT

During the past twenty-odd years it has been part of my judicial duty to sign the judicial decrees giving to thousands of men of foreign birth the boon of American citizenship. It is a work that has deeply interested me. I have mingled with these men, and by knowing them have learned to know their worth. And this knowledge warrants me to-night, Mr. President, when you have come to dignify the admission of 4,000 of these to citizenship, in saying they are worthy of your coming, for has it not been well said:

But there is neither east nor west,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Tho' they come from the ends of the earth!

Now, if you should chance some evening, Mr. Mayor, when sitting in your library to take from your shelves Watson's Annals—that time-worn volume dear to the Philadelphia heart—you may read how, in 1679, three years before Penn came to found our goodly Province, a few English emigrants preceded him and landed 12 miles below where we meet to-night, at what was then Swedish Upland but is now the city of Chester. These English pioneers of Pennsylvania colonization found the west bank of the Delaware already held by Swedes and Hollanders. It is well, therefore, Mr. Mayor, for those of us of American birth, of English speech, and Pennsylvania heritage, to remember that it was men and women of alien tongue and race that stood on the

west shore of the Delaware and welcomed our English forbears to Pennsylvania soil. And so it has come about, sir, that when these foreign-born men of the twentieth century come before the court for the fellowship of American citizenship, I am led to recall that when in that same year there was born to one of that English-speaking pioneer emigrant band a little son it was the foreign speech of Swedish and Holland women that welcomed the little Richard Buffington to his Pennsylvania heritage as the first-born child of English descent in the Province of Pennsylvania.

Three years later, when William Penn aboard the good ship *Welcome* sailed up the Delaware, he found the same alien-speech welcome awaiting him. He recognized the right of these Swedish and Holland folk to stay and share in the new colony, and recognized what was then new on American soil, namely, the right of other races besides his own to come thereafter. For Penn was the pioneer in that varied race colonization that made Pennsylvania from the start the great race-blending colony, that gave her a race catholicity different from all of her sister colonies. As you recall the story of the other 12 colonies they were each founded on one race and one religion. But with Penn came the dawning of that new spirit of race and religious catholicity which is the real basis of true Americanism. And I venture to here say that when the true story of colonial founders shall be written over and above all colonial founders in breadth of vision, in toleration, in race and religious catholicity will tower William Penn. For, mark you, he founded his colony not for the advantage of his own race or those of his own faith, but that in Penn's land every race and every faith might equally share in liberty, life, and the pursuit of happiness. And in that Province—where the Declaration, the Constitution, and the flag were later born—the real germ of genuine Americanism, namely, a self-government, based on governing self so as to insure the rights of others as well as their own, was born. Thus it came about, that with the peopling of Pennsylvania began a varied race trekking that marked no other colony. For 200 years this composite race intermingling has gone on, and to-day 22 per cent of all foreigners coming to the United States make Pennsylvania their home. The foreign problem is no new question for Pennsylvania. It is as old as our Commonwealth. We are not affrighted by it. We know that three-fourths of these emigrants were farm born;

that they go to congested cities not because they want to but because they have to; and we know that farm-bred men can in the long run be intrusted with upholding the stability of a nation. It is fitting, therefore, that the inauguration of this great patriotic foreign-welcoming movement, honored for the first time by the coming of a President, should take place on Pennsylvania soil and in a great city whose proof of its friendly regard for the foreign born is that you, Mr. Mayor, and two of its former mayors came to Philadelphia as immigrant boys.

At risk, sir, of trespassing on the wishes of this great audience, eager to hear the President, let me say a few words of brotherly counsel to these men whose departing alien past tonight merges into a newborn American future.

And the first thought I give them as to the foundation of their new citizenship is that over and above all other American citizenship their American citizenship is based on law. And by that I mean this: If you look at the Declaration of Independence, you will find that the seventh ground in order on which we based our right to rebel against King George of England was because "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization for foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither," etc. If you will look at the Constitution, you will find it gave Congress the power "To establish an uniform rule of naturalization."

In pursuance of these rights and provisions their American citizenship is granted to the foreign born *by law*, it is evidenced by a decree made *by court of law*, and is recorded for them in the records kept *by the law*. And so it comes about that the foreign-born man's citizenship is what I may call a *law right* as distinguished from that, for example, of the President, whose citizenship is one of *birth right*. Now, I venture to say that even if our President were called upon to prove his birthright as an American citizen he would have some trouble to do so. He has not at hand the incontestable proof of a law decree which once and for all time adjudged you foreign-born men to be lawful citizens; he can not turn to any recorded decree which settles and evidences his citizenship. Such being the case, the foreign-born citizen, being made a citizen under and by the law, it seems to me that you, as law-made Americans, have, if anything, an even higher duty than we who are native born, to respect, to sup-

port, to uphold the law which conferred citizenship upon you. The law is the ladder by which you have mounted to citizenship. If, therefore, at any time questions arise as to what your course should be, where your influence should be cast, in what way you should lead and influence your fellow countrymen, I want you to bear in mind that your citizenship is based on law, your country on order, and that unless law and order stand American citizenship can not stand; for American citizenship depends on every American citizen standing for law and order.

Now, the good mayor has spoken to-night most feelingly of how you all, just as he, have loved your several fatherlands, and most patriotically of how he and you have renounced for all time his and your allegiance to the birth land of the past and taken a solemn oath that henceforth your allegiance was on this, not on the other side of the sea. But I want to go further and say that oath goes further. It binds you to support and defend the country's Constitution and laws against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Now we all know what foreign enemies of our country might be—though God grant that with charity for all and malice toward none we may deserve and have none—but I beg of you to remember that our country may have domestic enemies—enemies within our own country, enemies in her own citizenship—against whom she demands that you should protect her, her Constitution, and her laws. Who are these domestic enemies? How shall they be known? Fellow Americans, you can depend on this, that any man, or any organization, or any publication, or any interest, or any influence that attempts to undermine your loyal, whole-hearted citizenship; that encourages you to break and disobey her laws; that would change the citizenship of law and order for one of anarchy and disorder, to one of hate and violence; that would lead you to believe that American citizenship can be a race citizenship, or a religious citizenship, or a class citizenship, or a rich citizenship, or a poor citizenship, or indeed that there is any other kind of American citizenship than the genuine old-fashioned American citizenship that sees but one flag, knows but one people, and feels that every other man has the very same equal right to his life, to his liberty, and to his pursuit of happiness that we demand for ourselves. The citizenship that demands more for myself than I am willing to grant to my fellow citizen is not American citizenship; it is a domestic enemy against which our country would have us guard ourselves as truly

as against a foreign one. And you can depend upon it that any-one, or any influence, tending to make your citizenship an unhappy one by poisoning your mind with envy, ill will, bitterness against your country, against her institutions, her laws, or against any portion or class or mass of her citizens and your fellow citizens, is an enemy not only of yours, but of your country. For this country, as its foundations testify, was created that each citizen might be aided by his fellows, and he aid his fellows, in the pursuit of happiness.

I beg of you, therefore, to yourselves learn and to teach your children the spirit of building up, not of tearing down, your country, its citizens, and its citizenship. This Nation was built by building up; it was not built by tearing down. Our flag was made by sewing its stripes together, not by tearing them apart; by sewing stars on, not by ripping them off its field of blue. And that flag waves to lead us on so long only as willing hands hold it up. And it is in this helpful spirit—helpful to home, to school, to church, to neighbors, to country—you should start out to claim a helpful, hopeful, and happy American citizenship for yourselves. For, added to law and order, I want you to remember that on those great factors the home, the school, the church, the future of our country bottoms. These are the things that have made America the country to which you wanted to come, and it is your duty to help in upholding them. Make every effort to keep your children in the schools. Stand by the school-teacher. Teach your child to honor and respect the teacher, for you can no more afford to undermine the teacher in your child's eyes than you would stand for the teacher undermining the parent in the child's regard. And just now I want to say that, in my judgment, there is no more patriotic, far-reaching work being done in our country to-day than in the Americanization of our foreign-born children through the quiet, faithful, day-in-and-day-out work of our school-teachers. The school is America's method of reaching the foreign-born adult through his American-taught child. I know whereof I speak in that regard. The 8 or 10 year old child of the incoming foreigner becomes in a couple of months, through the school-teacher, the dominant factor in the foreign home. Through its rapid gaining of English that child becomes the sole means of communication for that family with the outside world, and through that child to the measure that American patriotism, American institutions, Amer-

ican justice, and American life are embodied in that teacher, are they carried into that home. And no one who visits on a patriotic holiday our schools in neighborhoods where the foreign-born children predominate can feel aught but a deep assurance of the safety of our country's future when he sees the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual patriotism the American school-teacher is implanting in these foreign-born children, eager to become American in every way, to salute and revere its flag, to learn its history and the story of its great founders and patriots. Let the theorist who does not know the foreign born, but who bewails the evils of foreign immigration, ask the school-teacher about the problem. His eyes will be opened. The truth is we Americans have not gotten into touch in our citizenship, in our churches, in any practical way with the foreign born. Apart from the school-teacher for the foreign-born child, we as native-born Americans have largely relegated intercourse with the foreign born to the saloon keeper, the padrone, the foreign-born anarchist, and the native-born demagogue.

As an earnest that we native-born Americans are in the future to be more in sympathy with our foreign-born fellow Americans I take it, Mr. President, that the example you have set by coming here to-night will set many a thoughtless American to thinking it is high time he too should get to know some foreign-born fellow citizens. I have spoken of the school; let me add a word as to the church. This Nation is a God-respecting and God-worshipping Nation. If the church, if religion, were taken away, this Nation could not stand. Stand for them, therefore, and for all that tends to the upholding of the home and its influence. Statistics show a wonderfully wide owning of their own homes by the foreign born. From figures kept by the late clerk of our Federal court at Pittsburg I was surprised to find how many foreign men had bought homes, how many had money in savings banks. Remember the worth of what you earn is measured by what you save, and here let me add that you will find that as a savings bank your wife can beat a saloon keeper. And this leads me to say a closing word about the foreign-born woman, your wife, your sister, your mother. You go out among your fellow men and you get more or less in touch with American life; your women stay at home and are almost wholly out of touch with American life and out of touch with American sisterhood. Until American women wake up to this fact and get into sympathetic

touch through church, patriotic society, settlement and social work, and the like with your women, it seems to me that it is your duty to do everything in your power for your own women. American men believe in good women. There is no country where women are highly regarded as here in America. The real woman, the womanly woman, the mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter, has the highest and best place in the American man's regard, and we want that you in your attitude toward women should get that true American ideal that a good woman is not your inferior, is not your equal, but is something far above you men, as every man knows whose life, character, and family have been molded by the priceless blessing of a good mother, a loyal sister, a true wife.

And now a closing thought on the final measure of your citizenship. The genius of our country is self-government. But self-government does not mean selfish government. In the final analysis it means government of self, so that my fellow citizen shall have his rights as well as I. Where each man by governing himself insures equal rights to his fellow men, there and there alone we have the fulfillment to its depth of those immortal but often misunderstood words, "A government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Proceedings; Naturalization Reception. Government Printing Office, 1915.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION

The first National Conference on Immigration and Americanization was held in Philadelphia, in January. It was organized by the National Americanization Committee, in order to call together organizations doing practical work among immigrants and all agencies in the country interested in the assimilation of immigrants into American social, industrial and civic life. * * *

The Conference was held in Philadelphia, on Wednesday and Thursday, January 19 and 20, 1917. The first session consisted of the opening of an art exhibit at Memorial Hall showing the contribution of foreign-born races to art in America.

At a dinner on January 19, addresses were made by Mr. Frank Trumbull, Chairman of the National Americanization Committee; Governor Brumbaugh, S. Stanwood Menken, Felix M. Warburg and Mary Antin.

John Price Jackson, Commissioner of Labor of Pennsylvania, spoke briefly of the need of Americanization work in the industrial communities of Pennsylvania, and H. H. Wheaton, of the Federal Bureau of Education, in a talk accompanied by slides, showed the number of foreign-born in Pennsylvania, the number of foreign-born illiterates, the small percentage of the non-English-speaking that attend night school, and the comparatively small percentage of the foreign-born men of voting age who are naturalized.

On Thursday, January 20, there were four sessions of the Conference, all of which were open to the public. The morning and afternoon sessions were held in the ballroom of the Bellevue-Stratford and were each attended by about 1,300 persons.

There were 411 official delegates in attendance at the Conference representing commercial, economic, civic, religious, educational, racial, industrial and patriotic societies, and Federal and state and city departments.

The morning session, at which Judge Goodwin, of Chicago, presided, was taken up chiefly by reports of various organizations and in the discussion of methods and objects in the practical work of educating immigrants in the English language, citizenship and American standards of living. After an address by H. H. Wheaton on the scope of Americanization work, five-minute speeches were given by representatives of different organizations. These speakers included: Albert Shiels, of the Department of Education, New York City, on "The Public School and the Immigrant"; Robert Bliss, of the American Library Commission, "The Public Library and the Immigrant"; Peter Roberts, of the International Committee, Y. M. C. A., on "The Immigration Work of the Y. M. C. A."; Carter D. Keene, Director of the Division of Postal Savings, Post-Office Department; Dr. Jane E. Robbins, of the Jacob Riis Settlement, New York City, who urged the wives and sisters of employers to see that immigrant workmen received fair wages; Louis Bremer, National Council, Y. M. H. A.; Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Mrs. Marian K. Clark, of the Bureau of Industries and Immigration, New York State; Bernard J. Rothwell, of the Massachusetts Commission of Immigration; Dante Barton, who represented Frank P. Walsh, of the Committee on Industrial Relations, and others. Mr. Barton read a letter from Mr. Walsh to the Com-

mittee, attacking the sincerity of the Americanization movement, and claiming that it was directed only toward the perpetuation of the present economic system, because the Committee was not working through labor unions and urging immigrants to join such unions.

At the luncheon of delegates, at which Miss Kellor presided, addresses were made by Commissioner Jackson, Mr. John Fahey, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. Bremer, of the National Young Women's Christian Association, and Mrs. Simkovitch, of Greenwich House.

The afternoon session was addressed by various immigration experts and economists on general immigration subjects. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, who discussed the part which the Department of Labor could take in the work of Americanization, presided at the meeting. The speakers included Dr. P. P. Claxton, Federal Commissioner of Education, who spoke on "A National Policy of Immigrant Education"; Dr. Woods Hutchinson, on "The Immigrant and Public Health"; Mrs. Percy Pennypacker, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, on "The Americanization of Women"; John H. Fahey, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, on "The National Chamber of Commerce and Americanization"; Prof. Edmund von Mach, on "Atoms or Creators"; Father Wastl, on "The Co-operation of the Catholic Church in Americanization Work"; Grace Abbott, of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, on "The Best Methods of Co-operation in Americanization Work," and Mary Antin on "Americanization as a Mutual Process."

The most significant results of the Conference are that for the first time philanthropic business, civic and educational organizations were brought together to discuss Americanization as it affects them all; that Americanization was recognized as a national movement and responded, requiring national standards; and that one and all, organizations governmental and private, of all kinds and all creeds, and of varying methods of work, pledged themselves to co-operate in carrying out Americanization as a national work.

THE SONG OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

DENIS A. MCCARTHY

O land of all lands first and best
We pledge our love for thee.
Whate'er the faith our sires confessed,
Whate'er our blood may be;
Whate'er the shrine at which we bow,
To-day, dear land, we blend
Our hearts and voices in the vow
To love thee to the end.

O land of all lands first and best,
Wide open hast thou flung
The gates to greet men sore oppressed
Of every race and tongue.
And surely they who know thy hand
And all the gifts it bears
Will never flout the gen'rous land
That shelters them and theirs.

O land of all lands first and best,—
Come peace or conflict dread,
Thy sons will bravely bear the test,
Wherever born or bred.
Old racial cries, old racial ties,
For them will cease to be,
And, over all, the thought will rise
Of thee and only thee!

From *Heart Songs and Home Songs*, pp. 12-13. Boston. Little, Brown & Company. 1916.

LIVING CONDITIONS

AMERICANIZING BARREN ISLAND

JOSEPH MAYPER

An immigrant family occupying five rooms keeps eighteen boarders—and more or less boarders are kept by every family in the community. Garbage reduction plants provide employment, and, working in day and night shifts, the boarders are compelled, on account of the congested quarters, to occupy the same beds day and night. In the interior of the houses dirt and filth are the rule and windows are nailed down. Hardworking men and women, finding no wholesome form of recreation, indulge in drink to while the idle hours away. The resulting drunken brawls and racial squabbles draw the attention of listening children and the vile language they hear is soon effectively used in their own innocent quarrels. The foul odors of the garbage plants, the enervating physical labor, the constant indulgence in alcohol, the unventilated and congested sleeping quarters and the total lack of bathing facilities are reflected in the sickly pallor on the faces of the men, women and children.

Births are plentiful in this immigrant community, but mothers do not know how to care for infants under the new climatic conditions and are careless in the preparation and modification of foods. An increased infant mortality is therefore reported. Industrial accidents are of frequent occurrence here, but with no local hospital or dispensary and no resident physician, medical treatment is delayed—sometimes with fatal results. Women and children spend every spare moment on the “dump,” and the feverish search for “treasure” is responsible for diseased bodies, dirty homes, neglected children, illiteracy and drunkenness.

The houses, badly in need of repair, are built on a filled-in creek, have damp cellars and are dimly lighted by kerosene oil lamps. Rickety fences made of old doors, tin sheets and discarded bed springs enclose each house and yard. Garbage and refuse are strewn about and dirty pools of water stagnate in the yards and alleys which are literally covered with tumble-down wood sheds, chicken coops and dog kennels. The insanitary open

privy vaults are dirty and foul and are seldom cleaned. The water supply is inadequate for either domestic or fire fighting uses. The food offered for sale in the little supply stores is exposed to disease-carrying flies.

The depressing effect of the gray, cheerless environment is reflected in all the community relationships. Over ninety per cent of the adults are unable to speak English, and very few of those eligible have applied for citizenship—yet many of them have been here for a number of years. Indifference to religious influences is marked, and the church, attended irregularly, remains gloomy and unattractive. Surplus earnings are either sent abroad or are hoarded in little tin boxes lying in the bottoms of trunks. Except for the public school, the only local Americanizing agency, the community remains an isolated group of men, women and children, lacking definite aim or purpose.

Such were the conditions as they existed a year ago in a typical industrial immigrant community in the City of New York. Barren Island, in Jamaica Bay, is the receiving station for the city's garbage and dead animals. Some 1,200 foreigners—men, women and children—have been attracted to the Island, the adult males finding employment in the reduction and fertilizer plants. The conditions described, however, are more or less typical of many industrial communities throughout the country. Legislation and the enforcement of general statutes have been found insufficient measures to remedy these conditions or to enforce an American standard of living in such communities. Such desolate and socially isolated communities can become Americanized when the individuals concerned have been educated to appreciate the necessity for cleanliness, sanitation, sobriety, morality and literacy. When the women's work is never done, home life is destroyed, standards are lowered, Americanization is retarded, and the children's standards of citizenship are low. Where green things are seldom visible, where little streams of dirty water are allowed to stagnate, where tin cans, fruit skins and other refuse lie about the houses and where sickness and disease increase mortality—vigorous yet sympathetic action must be taken if life in America is to continue to be of a high standard.

With this in mind a definite, constructive plan of work for intensive and personal work in the homes of the immigrant residents of Barren Island was outlined, and the cooperation of the New York City Department of Health secured. On August 6,

1915, the department temporarily released one of its trained nurses for the experiment, a building was rented and an assistant was secured. The plan provided for the establishment of a milk station as a health laboratory, home visiting to promote higher standards of living, stimulating interest in education and citizenship and providing adequate recreational facilities. The milk station was equipped with a sanitary ice-box, demonstration tables, infant scales and bath tubs, a first aid kit, standard medicines for infants' diseases, charts, folding chairs, pamphlets on diet, feeding and parental care and other essentials. When connected by sliding doors with an adjacent room this laboratory became available as a lecture hall for health demonstrations, discussions and meetings. A small office was fitted up with a desk and a few chairs for private consultations. On an upper floor one room was used as an infirmary for serious cases of illness requiring the nurse's constant attention, while an adjoining room was used as the nurse's personal quarters. An attractive sign calling the attention of the residents to the fact that services were rendered free of charge at this health and social center was placed in the window. Record and individual case cards of the Health Department were secured for the station. The station was kept open all hours of the day, although the nurse was away afternoons visiting homes and engaging in personal work.

The improvement of Barren Island in sanitation, education, beauty and other conditions which could in any way conduce to the health, morality, happiness and general good citizenship of its residents was sought. As the interest and cooperation of the mothers and fathers was largely dependent on any personal service rendered to their children, it was determined to approach the work by a direct appeal to the latter. The work for the social and health rehabilitation of the community was therefore organized into four general divisions—health, sanitation, education and naturalization, and recreation, detailed as follows:

(1) *Health*—(a) At station: pure milk and ice—for infants, anæmic children, and sick adults; first aid to the injured—in cooperation with a visiting doctor; illustrated health talks—care of babies, prenatal care, swat-the-fly campaign. (b) Home visiting: interior conditions—cleanliness, ventilation, personal hygiene, pure food, congestion (boarders) and children on dumps. (c) General: pure water supply and pipe line connections—for drinking and fire protection; pure food—through law enforcement.

(2) *Sanitation*—(a) Garbage: covered cans in rear of every house and arrangements for disposal regularly. (b) Refuse: tin cans and other refuse in streets, yards and alleys gathered and collected in heaps and arrangements for disposal. (c) Drainage: hollows and holes filled in with slag, with cooperation of plants; water drains covered. (d) Toilets; cleaned, screened and repaired; movable metal receptacles placed under seats.

(3) *Education and Naturalization*—(a) Classes: in English and citizenship in public schools; attendance of men and women solicited personally and by notices in pay envelopes and posters. (b) Reading room and library; newspapers, magazines and books in English and in the important foreign languages at the milk station or public school. (c) Lectures and public meetings: on health, civic, patriotic and educational themes of local interest—moving pictures. (d) Sewing class: practical aid to girls and mothers. (e) Mothers' Club: domestic science, care of self and home. (f) Prize essays: on miscellaneous community needs and remedies.

(4) *Recreation*—(a) Playground: baseball field on vacant lot, cleaned and graded by children with cooperation of plants; sand pile and wading pool near school. (b) Outdoor games: pageants, group and folk dancing. (c) Dancing: in school gymnasium or hall for adults. (d) Home gardens: in front of houses—vines, flowers; in yards—vegetable and truck gardening; in window boxes—flowers. (Children provided with seeds without cost, and prizes offered for best and most artistic results.) (e) Outings and celebrations: to develop closer community spirit.

(5) *Miscellaneous*—(a) Exploitation: hearing complaints and making adjustments. (b) Domestic relations: adjusting family disputes and providing for the care of neglected children. (c) General: advice and information.

The residents were informed of the plan and purpose of the work at an Americanization celebration which was made the occasion for talks on clean living, the importance of learning the English language and the opportunities and obligations of American citizenship. The hot summer and infants' diseases soon brought the mothers to the station to secure properly iced Grade "A" milk at cost price—a welcome substitute for the condensed or "turned" milk on which babies had previously been fed. Some 250 quarts of fresh milk were sold weekly thereafter for babies, expectant and nursing mothers and for the adult sick. Every

child under two years of age brought to the station was weighed and examined by the nurse, who in nearly every case rendered some trifling service, instructed the mother in the preparation and modification of feedings and gave practical demonstration on how to bathe, feed and dress the baby.

As the work progressed, many children were found suffering from malnutrition or from such diseases as diarrhœa, constipation, sprue, tonsillitis, milk rash, burns, ring worm and eczema. An infant's diet frequently included such indigestible foods as cucumbers, watermelons, sour milk, cabbage, condensed milk, fish or tomato soup, while beer and vodka were occasionally served to quench its thirst. With some mothers the use of milk after weaning is unknown, and when advised to feed the child under two years of age chiefly on milk, broad hints were made that the sale of milk was being promoted. With the coming of cold weather in the early fall, babies were seldom taken out of doors and windows were nailed down, but most of the houses were of such flimsy construction that the many air holes provided some of the fresh air needed! A typical case of neglect was that of a two-months-old infant who came under the nurse's care with its mouth cavity and tongue covered with sprue. Although covered with dirt, the child frequently went without a bath. One hot evening the nurse found the baby in a room with windows closed, lying in a cot between two feather pillows and with about two pounds of sliced onions tied to its stomach, the palms of its hands and the soles of its feet. The baby was being fed on tea with plenty of sugar and was crying pitifully. One emaciated infant, in another instance, had been suffering from diarrhœa and, despite the doctor's orders, had been fed on greasy chicken broth. The day she died another child was born to the distracted mother. A decidedly threatening attitude had to be assumed by the nurse in several cases to convince the mothers of their folly.

The health work has not, however, been limited to the care of sick babies. Adults have received first-aid in minor accidents and simple treatment for diseased eyes and hands and intestinal disorders, while persons suffering from serious diseases were referred to a doctor who visits the Island daily for a few hours, and tubercular cases were sent to public institutions. Other adults were given advice and treatment, sometimes under a doctor's direction, for pleurisy, grippe, pneumonia, diseased eyes and for injuries received in drunken brawls or in accidents.

The educational value of the nurse's graphic demonstrations of treatment in the homes cannot be overestimated. A mother, in one instance, was suffering acutely from a rectal obstruction. When the nurse arrived she found her lying in a filthy bed without bed sheets or bed clothing. The windows were closed, the air was foul and the floor was filthy. The patient was so "sick" that six of her neighbors (women) had also been called in. Impotent without direction, they had been standing about with folded arms awaiting the arrival of the nurse. Taking the situation in at a glance, the latter put all six women to work, one opening the window, another mopping up the floor, the third bringing in a clean nightgown, the fourth getting some warm water, the fifth fitting up another bed with clean linen, etc. The patient, after ordinary treatment, was then removed to the clean bed and the room was thoroughly aired.

Great difficulty was experienced in this health work in overcoming the superstitions of ignorant mothers. One baby had been cured of sprue and diarrhœa and the mother was asked to bring the child to the station to be weighed at regular intervals, but weighing babies was "bad luck," and any gain in weight meant fattening for death and the mother refused to come. But when through filth and dirt another case of sprue was later brought on, the mother promptly reappeared at the station! The mother of another child suffering from pneumonia insisted she could cure her baby by covering her with a black shawl. Another woman lapsed her insurance policy, claiming she had been sick since it had been issued. One old woman known as the "witch" was frequently called in to mumble incoherent phrases and make mysterious motions over the bodies of the sick persons—and she was credited with the cure!

The health work carried on in this manner gave the nurse an easy entrée to the homes. Daily visits were made, averaging about seventy-five a week, and every opportunity was taken to instruct mothers in matters of cleanliness, ventilation, personal hygiene, sanitation of the home and grounds, pure food, congestion, etc. The general appearance of the homes has changed so completely as a result of these visits, it is difficult to realize that not very long ago windows had been nailed down, beds and bedding had been filthy, food had been exposed to flies and members of the family had been carelessly dressed. Even congestion, a serious evil in homes where boarders are kept, has been consid-

erably reduced through this slow, patient educational work.

The nurse has become a friend of the family and many personal and domestic difficulties are now referred to her for adjustment. Constant quarreling between a mother and her fourteen-year-old daughter caused the latter to run away from home. The nurse was appealed to and she located the girl in Brooklyn and arranged that she be cared for by an uncle. One poor husband complained that his wife was frequently intoxicated, neglected her home and children, and seldom had his supper ready when he returned after thirteen hours of work. At his request the nurse called frequently at the home and the husband is now congratulating himself at his happy thought—the wife has given up drinking and has supper ready in time! These cases frequently required the services of other agencies and they were referred, after investigation, to the Children's Aid Society, Bureau of Charities, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, hospitals, etc. With the many demands made on her services, the nurse has found it necessary to visit homes at all hours of the day and night. Her knowledge of the important languages, Polish and Slovak, has been of special value and has enabled her to interest herself in the residents and extend many personal services.

The sanitary conditions in the community were so bad that special efforts to improve them were made. Vigorous food inspections were undertaken with the cooperation of the authorities and quantities of fruits, vegetables, butter, meat, fish and milk were condemned and destroyed. This was always followed with the necessary educational work, and shopkeepers now keep their meats, bread and other foodstuffs in glass showcases. One of them became so enthusiastic that he established a model grocery and meat shop, while another, the owner of the filthiest shop in the district, renovated it completely. A house-to-house educational campaign was waged to induce the householders to purchase covered garbage cans in which to deposit their garbage and kitchen refuse which had previously been thrown into yards, alleys and streets. Shopkeepers were approached and agreed to cooperate by offering for sale only covered cans. The cooperation of the Street Cleaning Department was then secured and arrangements were finally made for the collection of garbage three times a week. This was followed recently by a vigorous "clean-up" campaign, as a result of which about 300 truck-loads of refuse

were collected in heaps by the residents, who now take pride in keeping their grounds clean. Other improvements secured include the installation of galvanized iron receptacles under the seats of the old-fashioned outhouses, which can be taken out and cleaned through newly constructed rear trap doors, the construction of inexpensive home-made flytraps which has considerably reduced the need of a "swat-the-fly" campaign, and the screening of windows and doors in the early spring to keep out the mosquitoes and flies.

Although improvement in the health and sanitary conditions established higher standards of living, it did not serve to give the residents any closer relationship with our national life or a more intelligent understanding of our national ideals. The house-to-house work was therefore utilized to arouse among the adults interest in a knowledge of the English language and preparation for American citizenship. Men and women were urged to attend the public evening school, addresses were made before foreign societies, colored posters were put up in various sections of the district, announcements were made by the priest and the cooperation of the employers was secured. Decided interest was expressed and a class in preparation for citizenship was organized in the evening school to meet the demand. The attendance was increased, but the changing shifts in the plants hampered regularity. Plans are now being formulated to provide instruction for the changing shifts inside the plants. Talks on health and personal hygiene were given to the children with the cooperation of the school authorities, and mothers were urged to come to the station for simple instruction in English. A branch office of the Traveler's Library was organized at the station and about 250 books in English and in foreign languages are now available, about seventy-five being circulated each week.

The serious efforts to improve the health and educational standards of the community were relieved by the organization of many recreational activities. As the improvements in the homes were carried out by and through the children, efforts were made to have them regard the station as their playground as well as a place for practical work. A Little Mothers' League was organized for girls between the ages of eight and sixteen, which now has a membership of forty. Meetings are held every week, parliamentary rules are followed and presiding officers are elected by popular vote. Lectures on health are given at each meeting. Each member signs a pledge to take care of the babies, and is

given a Little Mothers' League badge after attendance at three meetings. The subjects of the weekly lessons are as follows: (1) growth and development; (2) teeth and what to notice in the baby; (3) bathing and the value of water; (4) fresh air; (5) sleep and quiet; (6) clothing and cleanliness; (7) first care of sick baby; (8) milk; (9) feeding; (10) care of milk, bottles and nipples; (11) home directions for milk modification (demonstrate process); (12) albumen, water and whey (demonstrate process); (13) quiz and essays on baby care.

Each member has one baby assigned to her care. She is in duty bound to visit this baby daily, in most cases her own sister or brother, and to do everything possible to help the mother. A report of each baby is kept, which the nurse checks up, and in case of illness she is at once notified. The members receive special instruction on how to observe symptoms of illness and what to do to relieve distress before the nurse calls. Demonstrations are held on life-size dolls. The league gave an exhibition of its work at a school assembly in the presence of all the pupils and teachers and some mothers. The members were dressed as nurses and actually demonstrated the lessons previously taught them by the nurse. Formerly the girls had no community interest and spent all their time in school, in housework or on the "dumps." The Little Mothers' League has given them a new interest and a new point of view. All spare time at the meetings is taken up with the reading of Frances Hodgson Burnett's "The Little Princess," and with occasional dancing. All the children's dolls are now named "Emily" after the doll in the story!

A Boy Scout Troop has been organized for the boys on the Island, under the direction of one of the public school teachers, an ex-sergeant of the United States army. Some thirty boys have already joined and are now provided with uniforms and a large American flag has been secured. Appropriate field exercises are held each legal holiday.

A "Camp Fire Girls" division has also been organized for the older girls and a "Bluebird" division for the younger girls, and considerable interest is being displayed by the mothers as well as the children in the folk-dances, costumes and credits for good behavior at home.

An Altar Society, whose members are young girls of school age, has also been formed. They sweep and dust the church and sacristy and decorate the altars with whatever greens and flowers can be had. The former cheerlessness, dust and quiet of the

church has disappeared. Formerly the singing at church was done only by the organist. Now some of the Altar Society members and others have formed a church choir, rehearsals being held at the station, and a general celebration was held on Christmas with many participating.

Through the courtesy of one of the plants, some waste land has been turned into a ball and athletic field for the boys and girls. The yard of the station was also turned into a model garden and divided into twelve plots for the most deserving children in school. Such keen interest was shown that some 200 packets of vegetable and flower seeds were secured from the government and distributed among the children. Little gardens appeared here and there as if over night. Swings and hammocks were put up where, on account of a few stunted trees, plants could not be grown.

An outing and Americanization Day celebration has now been arranged for Sunday, July 2d, at which all the children and their mothers and fathers will be given a boat ride to a nearby picnic resort, a band has been secured, and appropriate patriotic exercises will be given by the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and other children. Every excursionist will carry an American flag and short addresses in their own languages will be made by a few of the more Americanized men.

The station has served many other purposes in the community. Through the constant activity of the nurse, who is in reality an Americanizing domestic educator, a new water main has been laid, fences have been repaired, mongrel dogs have been sent to the pound, relief has been secured for the poor, a volunteer Fire Brigade has been formed, a Mothers' Club has been organized, saving facilities have been provided and thrift encouraged, "quack" medicine vendors have been driven out of the community and a Defense League has been formed. Such adjustments to their varied community relationships have brought about a new civic spirit, have set a higher standard of living and have developed in this large group of foreigners a genuine interest in the welfare of the country in which they live. The work has been constructive and farreaching and will, no doubt, prove to be of permanent value to the residents and the community and cannot but promote a stable population and a high type of American citizenship.

INDUSTRY

THE ENGLISH FOR SAFETY CAMPAIGN

MARIAN K. CLARK

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR, BUREAU OF INDUSTRIES AND IMMIGRATION, NEW
YORK STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

Apart from the conservation of life and limb the "English for Safety Campaign" aims at more complete sharing of thought and better understanding in industry. This means not only conservation of time and temper, but a larger productive power in every industry employing aliens. In the 60,000 factories of the State of New York, 2,000,000 workers are employed, of whom approximately 1,600,000 are foreign born. Of these 400,000 are unable to read or write even in their own language, 800,000 cannot understand or speak English. This is a condition which makes democracy impossible and is a barrier to industrial progress. How to reach these handicapped workers and enable them to be worth more and so to earn more and be less liable to injury and desolation is our problem.

English Language and Cost of Accidents

During the year 1914, the first year in which the Workmen's Compensation Law was effective in New York, there were 40,000 compensated and 225,000 reported accidents. In 1915 there were 50,000 compensated out of 270,000. In 1916, from a total of 313,000 accidents, 58,500 were compensated, costing \$11,500,000 or \$40,000 a day, and at the present writing reports of accidents are being filed at the rate of 1,000 a day, or at a cost of \$13,000,000 per year as an initial expenditure, to which must be added the cost of medical benefits, administration of the compensation law, wages and cost of turnover, which has increased the total direct and indirect cost of accidents in New York State to \$35,000,000, or at the rate of about \$117,000 per day, for 1917.

Seven out of every ten applicants for compensation require the services of an interpreter; when a man requires an interpreter to present his claim, he presumably is unable to understand work directions in English, and for that reason alone is needlessly ex-

posed to injury. If, therefore, about 70 per cent of all industrial accidents in New York State are largely attributable to ignorance of the language *in which safety directions are given*, and by instruction in the factory for one hour a day for sixty days it is probable that one half of the number of accidents could be prevented, the immediate gross saving to our industries would equal \$50,000 per day!

It must be recalled that ignorance of English limits efficiency and advancement, increases public dependency and renders less capable the able-bodied laborer, who is becoming so increasingly valuable. All educators are agreed that night schools do not solve this grave problem and while some of the young and energetic are reached through the combination of the community centre and the night class, the vast majority of the older men and women after a hard day's work have neither the desire nor the mental or physical ability to absorb instruction.

At a recent conference of the National Committee of One Hundred, under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington, representatives of School Boards from Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Michigan, as well as New York City, were agreed on the fact that night schools *did not adequately reach the illiterate adult alien*. The minutes of that conference will prove conclusively that while night schools in the first term show a good registration, *at the beginning of the second, term this attendance actually precipitates*. . . . Out of 500,000 foreign-born illiterates in the City of New York, the evening schools last year succeeded in reaching only about 55,000, and of these, few were non-English speaking aliens. The 1914 report of the Bureau of Industries and Immigration recommended "*compulsory school attendance for every illiterate alien over sixteen years of age residing in the State of New York*." Could such an amendment to the Compulsory Education Law be enacted, the necessity for supplying teachers especially trained to conduct classes in factories would then be evident. . . . Such teachers are not available now.

The relationship existing between compensation, turnover and illiteracy, and its enormous cost in money and efficiency is bad in times of peace, but now, during this war of devastation, it is a tragedy. The alien who enters our country physically sound and *owing to his illiteracy becomes physically broken* becomes an added economic burden and is in addition grievously sinned against.

Every common laborer is an asset to this country; his economic value increases or diminishes in comparison to his productivity. For his employer or his adopted country to permit him to become a liability when in a period of only sixty hours he can be converted into an asset to himself, his employer, and the State, savors of industrial as well as social and political negligence.

An "English for Safety Campaign" in factories is an immediately practical way by which accident can be lessened. The factory itself is the place where the school room should be, in order to be effective. The illiterate does not appreciate his own handicaps, and usually will not learn unless the employer makes the way easy and inviting. The greatest handicap in any English-teaching campaign is lack of money incentive to the worker to learn. The employer is in a position to furnish the money incentive. It has been shown clearly that the whole matter is one of dollars and cents; that it repays the employer, not only in the long run but at once; moreover the best results are attained by paying the wage while the worker is being taught. It has been found to be a saving for the employer to allot the time WITHOUT LOSS OF WAGE TO THE WORKER, for an English-teaching campaign in a factory means larger economy in management.

A hygienic educational and social propaganda makes for personal advancement; *and the efficiency of the worker makes for the prosperity of the employer, not sometimes but always.*

The State, the corporation and the individual employer owe a moral obligation to our immigrant population. *The welfare of both the State and the employer is bound up in the welfare of the industrial worker.* We cannot ignore one without injuring the other.

From *Address*, Safety Conference, New York State Industrial Commission, December 3, 1917, Syracuse, N. Y.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND IMMIGRANT
LABOR

JOHN H. FAHEY

FORMER PRESIDENT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

At least one part of the task of conserving labor is quite beyond the powers and the scope of the individual industry. I refer to the immigrant workman, and especially the unskilled laborer. In his case especially it is impossible to separate his industrial from his civic and social relations—efficiency in one is impossible without competence in the other. In plain words, non-English-speaking workmen, living by southern European standards, ignorant of American industrial ideals, with no sense of the responsibilities of American residence, to say nothing of American citizenship, are not a stable asset in industry. Yet upon this unsteady foundation today many of our most imposing industrial structures are being raised—our railroads, our steel plants, our great new munition factories, and a dozen others in the order of their importance.

In the conservation forces and agencies which American industry has up to this time developed, the immigrant labor supply has been more than all other factors neglected. We have developed a tradition of taking huge immigrant labor supplies in the rough and using them in the rough. They have been drafted to this job or that according to their face value. And in spite of our favorite stories of immigrants risen from the ranks, we know this to be true—that the typical history of the immigrant laborer in this country is that he has stayed where he was first drafted—in the same class and condition at which he was first appraised. Men skilled in some old-country trade have stayed for years by the American pick and hoe. The road to industrial progress is not easily found, if indeed it is accessible at all, by men whose only point of contact with America is the American job they hold.

When immigration is resumed a real conservation policy will, therefore, demand a more careful scrutiny of the labor forces we draft from the old countries. Some of the scientific hiring principles we are introducing everywhere else we shall have to apply here, too. I am inclined to think that the days of drafting men off to jobs in hundreds or thousands, by blue tickets, not by

names, is over. The method will not stand the test of conservation principles. I am inclined to think that our national governmental policy will institute at the ports of entry a procedure that will make quite impossible this obliteration, so to speak, of certain capacities and potentialities in our immigrant labor supply.

The present has a sufficient task. How are we to make the most of the immigrant labor forces now in this country? I have said that it is a larger matter than the individual industry can handle. It requires the scope, the cumulative power, and effort of organized business on a nation-wide basis. In saying that the problem ramifies into the fields of social and civic welfare, we indicate that making the immigrant competent in American life is certainly not the charge of American business alone, nor perhaps of American business primarily. But these two facts remain: that the immigrant will never be industrially efficient until he is socially competent, until he knows English and the customs and standards of America; and that whatever the legitimate responsibility of industry may or may not be, the employer is the American force that is nearest to the immigrant. The employer holds the strategic position; and it will be he, more than any other agency, who will through industrial channels bring the immigrant workman to both industrial and civic efficiency.

And the unit of work will be the city, not the individual industry. Employers will do well to cooperate in finding out just where they stand in their cities with reference to immigrant labor. That will be a very good first step toward discovering just what will have to be done to conserve the labor force of the city and make it efficient. I believe a survey of the immigrant population is a really critical need in every industrial center in the United States today. I do not see how any city can successfully adapt its institutions to a population of which it has no real record or index.

When the workman has the English language, and citizenship, or when he is in preparation for citizenship, he has a very good start toward industrial efficiency. But, in aiding him to attain these things by every means in its power, organized business has done only part of the work open to it in this task of conservation. In a very large degree the immigrant workman gets his social standards through industry. Americans may come to the same town and impose standards upon the town, however unpromising its apparent resources. But the immigrant workman takes what-

ever standards and facilities he finds, accepts, for instance, whatever housing is pointed out to him, buys and sells according to the advice of those that have put themselves in a position to advise him on such matters, deposits his savings, makes his investment by the same kind of advices. At present the immigrant is neither a good investor—in America—nor a good saver.

We now have great concentration of labor at various points; "boom towns" and "mushroom cities" are springing up. Bridgeport has added 14,000 to its population in the last few months. Midvale builds houses by night to accommodate its new workmen. Hopewell, Va., increased in population from about 600 to nearly 30,000 in less than six months. We now have the problem how to house and conserve the efficiency of this labor concentration, and a sudden decrease of war orders would bring us face to face with the problem of redistributing it in other industries.

Workmen are making money. This is the time to talk savings, not extravagance, and to urge American investment. America is the place in which the savings of our immigrant workmen should be invested. The American Bankers' Association, in its newly inaugurated campaign for thrift, needs the cooperation of commercial organizations.

For these important reasons the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States have recently approved the appointment of a Committee on Immigration to bring this question up to the business organizations throughout the country and to stimulate constructive and helpful thought concerning the immigrant as an American factor as well as an industrial asset; to take some purposeful and uniform action in all sections toward improving industrial relations between employees and employers; to facilitate methods for making foreign-born workingmen citizens of the United States; for enabling them to learn the English language and to become a more vital part of American life.

Other countries, even in the midst of a struggle for their very existence, are considering measures for rehabilitating after the war. France has appointed a commission to consider this matter. But America shows an astounding indifference.

PROMOTING AMERICANIZATION

BY HELEN VARICK BOSWELL

CHAIRMAN OF EDUCATION, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Women throughout the country have wakened up to the fact that, however we may feel as to the degree of coast defences and standing armies needed, we should recognize that quite as important as forts and submarines is our national attitude of mind. Quite as important as the standing army is that we have *one nation* instead of *many peoples*.

We have begun to realize that peoples living side by side do not necessarily constitute the nation, and that the factory and mine are not the only or necessarily the best medium for making citizens. It is being borne in upon our minds that in the efficient and harmonious union of many peoples in a common defense of any one nation there are at least three prime essentials: a common language with a minimum amount of illiteracy; a common citizenship, including similar ideals, beliefs, standards and customs, and symbolized by the oath of allegiance to America; and a high standard of living, which, in a democratic country, tends to diminish disaffection and disloyalty at critical times and at strategic points.

There are in the country 5,439,801 foreign-born women of fifteen years or over. When they arrive with their families, the husband goes to work and almost immediately establishes contacts which give him a view of America. His mind opens, he begins to master his American environments. The children are put in a public school—they form friendships with American-born children, they learn American ways and soon they are the arbiters in all family matters to be decided according to American standards. They, instead of the parents, become the custodians and sources of authority, and family discipline breaks down. The mother is the slave of all work; she forms the dull old-world background of her American family—who often become ashamed of it and of her. She does not learn English: she gets the left-overs of America from her progressive family; she does not become Americanized; she does not absorb new ideals and ideas; she learns little about American foods and about ways for caring for her children in the new and very different climate. It is not unusual after fifteen years in this country to find English spoken

by every member of the family but mother, and American clothes worn by all but mother. Even this superficial distinction closes many doors to her. Her grown-up daughter in a highly Americanized hat does not want to go shopping with her mother who still wears a black shawl over her head. It is not that the mother looks so ugly, but that the clinging to the old black shawl typifies to the daughter her mother's whole lack of understanding of the new world and the new ideas in which the daughter is living. The mother, far from being an aid in Americanizing her family, becomes a reactionary force. Sadly or obstinately as it may be, but always ignorantly, she combats every bit of Americanism that her husband and children try to force into the Southern European home. Yet when the husband passes tests entitling him to citizenship she becomes a full-fledged citizen also, as do her children—all prepared but the mother.

The United States Bureau of Education, the National Americanization Committee, the Bureau of Naturalization and other organizations interested in the immigrant—in the elimination of illiteracy and in the conversion of the immigrant into the fairly educated citizen—turn to the club women of the country for practical help.

What good those club women can do in the way of definite work to promote this real Americanization, especially among the immigrant women, can be placed somewhat in this wise: Find out how many immigrant women there are in the community. Do they speak English? Do their husbands? Are their husbands naturalized? Is the home a Southern European or an American home? Is the family American in its loyalty? Does it know enough of America to be loyal to it? Undoubtedly the children speak English; but what is the real nature of their Americanism? Did they learn it chiefly at school and at home—or on the corner and in the pool room? Reach the immigrant woman. It is the only way to produce American homes. See that she learns English. Through it she gets her first American contacts. But immigrant women can rarely attend night school. Organize for them, as has been done in a number of places, classes from two to three in the afternoon.

Just as immigrant men are taught English successfully only when the instruction deals with the subject matter of their daily life and work, so the method of teaching English to women can best be associated with methods of housekeeping, cooking, sew-

ing, etc. Moreover, many American standards and customs can be brought to the immigrant woman in this way. She can really be initiated into Americanism and the language at once.

Especially at first it will be very difficult to get immigrant women to attend classes in the public schools—and so at first, and perhaps later also—there must be friendly visitors and teachers, “domestic educators” as they have been called, to carry the English language and American ways of caring for babies, ventilating the house, preparing American vegetables, instead of the inevitable cabbage, right into the new homes. The State of California has through its department of public education provided for these friendly visitors. Until other places with heavy immigrant population act with similar enlightenment, may not women’s clubs step in and blaze the trail for a public education policy? Can they not pay domestic educators, or meet local boards of education half way in so doing? They can organize mothers’ classes, cooking classes, sewing classes, classes for entertainment. Remember that immigrant women, if of different races, often know one another even less than they know Americans.

Make immigrant women good citizens. Help them make the homes they care for into American homes. Give their children American ideals at home, as well as in school. Make American standards of living prevail *throughout* the community, not merely in the “American sections.” Above all show the rest of the community that this work of Americanizing immigrant mothers and immigrant homes is in the highest sense a work of citizenship, a part of a *national* patriotic ideal.

The relationship of Americanizing the foreign-born women in their homes to all the aspects of the development of our industries is tremendous, and will become more and more clear to us as being the work to which we should set our hands. American industry, of course, has made the population of this country what it is today—some one hundred million people drawn from many countries, about one-sixth of them born in foreign lands.

The sign language in factories, the foreign language and the *padrone* in the labor camps, villages and colonies scattered throughout cities; several million non-citizens and non-voters living and working under laws in the making of which they have no voice, of which they have little knowledge, and for which they sometimes have little respect; thousands of naturalized voters, but with no real American contact or American understanding,

marshalled and voted in companies by American bosses—all these conditions, now prevalent and typifying our failure to assimilate our immigrant population, are not chargeable to industry.

But industry is the force in American life which has the remedy chiefly in its control. And only the organized assistance of industry can make it possible for this country within any reasonable time to unify the present heterogeneous factors in our national life, and substitute for a babel of tongues the English language; substitute for a half-dead loyalty to the familiar old country—and a half-alive loyalty to the unknown new one—an understanding and unequivocal American citizenship; for old country homes in American cities and mill and mining towns, American homes with American standards of living; for the vague mixture of memories and aspirations that characterizes these men without a country, a vivid and alert American patriotism.

In the work of Americanization, so long neglected, now so urgent, industry has the strategic position. Many functions of government and society are concerned with Americanization—and are perhaps primarily responsible for it, such as our public schools, our employment systems, our courts, our social protective organizations. But most of these have no direct or influential or authoritative approach to the immigrant, unless he becomes a public charge. The employer has. The gist of the whole situation lies in this. And it is to the employer that the nation now turns for immediate aid and cooperation in the gravest task that the country has faced since 1861—the necessity of reinforcing our national unity, of making our many peoples one nation, marked from coast to coast by a common language, a common acceptance of industrial standards, a common understanding of the rights and obligations of American citizenship.

But this fact remains: the Americanization of our foreign-born workmen, even so far as teaching English, merely, is concerned, is too vast a project for the individual industry. Industries vary in wealth, equipment, stability of labor, hours, and in a dozen other ways. Teaching the English language and citizenship to immigrant workmen *is a legitimate part of public policy*. It belongs to the public schools and the courts of every community, aided by every civic force. The greatest service the industries of any community can render to themselves, to the social destiny of their community, and to the cause of our national soli-

parity is to back their organized support solidly up against the public school system in its task of making English-speaking residents and citizens of every family in the community. Americanization is a civic matter. The need of it now is a national crisis.

The swiftest hope of Americanization lies in the active practical cooperation of employers, the public schools, the courts, and bodies of patriotic citizens. In this work of preparedness it will often be left to industries to take the initiative. It is their privilege to do so.

It is the privilege and it is the duty of club women to give their time, their powers of instruction and their enthusiasm to the work of getting our language and understanding of the principles of our common life into the hearts and minds of the foreign-born women. Once start these foreign women in the paths of learning and your task is not difficult; they believe in you, and after a little while will break away from their hide-bound traditions and will become plastic for your moulding.

It is always touching to attend a class of foreign-born women with wistful faces and childlike faith in the instructors, trying, oh, so intently, to follow the sounds of the letters and words, and to trace those letters and words from the blackboard. The progress made by hard-working housemothers, who slip away from their many duties for a half hour or hour in the afternoon on certain days of the week, to take advantage of the opportunities offered by school or other social center is simply marvelous. The reading aloud by them of the word or of the simple sentence, the struggle to get just the right inflection, the giving of themselves to this great effort, is a tremendous thing to see. It is courage personified—it is the keen desire to keep up with their children, to know for themselves the things they are living in the midst of, to get to a point of writing and speaking a common language. And you never fail to see all this in any little class of foreign-born adult women.

Well circumstanced men and women of any community, to help in this development of citizenship is not an isolated piece of welfare work directed toward the alien group by the more fortunate of the community, but the sharing of rights and traditions and principles by Americans with Americans.

AMERICANIZATION: A CONSERVATION
POLICY FOR INDUSTRY

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We hear much these days of a new term. It is called *Americanization*. We use it rather glibly—it sounds well, but what does it mean? It means somehow or other that America shall profit by what immigrants bring in addition to their labor; it means that along with rights go duties; it means that Americans must give more to the foreigner than a job and a bunk to sleep in; that in some way we must all have a more common understanding of the opportunities and ideals of America; of the meaning of her institutions and liberties; and that we can converse in a common language and stand up under one flag.

Americanizing America is the task and responsibility of Americans. There is no subterfuge, excuse, or sophistry by which native born sons can escape this duty. Many bewail the fate of the American who lives in a tenement or town made unendurable by foreigners, but the custody of America's institutions, liberties and destinies belongs to native born Americans. The trouble is they have found it easier to retreat than advance, easier to move than to change their environment, easier to ostracize than to tolerate and educate their foreign born neighbors. Making money and being comfortable and not seeing the other side of American life has been the easiest way out.

We are face to face with two fundamental propositions in our Americanization movement. Our citizenship toll is heavy in our waste of men. The very essence of preparedness is to keep every man in America in the best possible physical and spiritual condition, and the place to do it is the industry, and the industrial community.

Important as the cities are, the strength of this nation does not rest in the greatest cities. There are east of the Alleghenies some 500 so called munitions plants, upon which we must rely mainly in time of war. Not one is in New York City or Boston. The most vulnerable point in our transportation system is not at the terminal; it is at the various points from which supplies and

men must be started with ease and rapidity and carried along, and the coördination of the interlocking systems throughout the country. The Lake Superior copper region may in a moment become more important than any seaport city. We must therefore look to our thousands of industries scattered throughout the land for our fundamental preparedness.

Americanization which looks to the unity of all peoples in America behind America's flag on American soil, so far as it relates to industry, covers three main subjects. Our existing industries have so overgrown themselves and everything else that we have to arrive at our goal chiefly by processes of elimination. In our response to war orders and building plants we seem in some instances to have forgotten every standard of health, decency and comfort. We build plants without houses for workmen; we build houses without sanitation or comfort; we build towns without streets or government almost over-night; we work men overtime until the symbol of America is the dollar—therefore we have to build our Americanization platform by *elimination*.

The first fundamental proposition in industrial preparedness is the elimination of the physical toll by such physical construction of the plant as will give the best possible conditions in light, air, freedom from dust, wash and lunch rooms and appliances for preventing and for dealing with accidents.

The second fundamental proposition is the elimination of production tolls by economy in administration, elimination of waste, etc., by the adoption of so-called efficiency methods.

The third fundamental proposition is the elimination of citizenship tolls (because in the last analysis the country pays the bills), by the adoption of methods which will conserve workmen and stabilize the labor market.

The labor turnover in this country in various industries is appalling. Germany would consider it military suicide and France would deal with it as a national disgrace. With our seasonal industries, our indifference to responsibility for dovetailing, our methods of employment, we find the average industry employing anywhere from two to five men to keep one at a cost of \$30 per man for every one employed. I submit as a fundamental proposition that we cannot use to any great advantage any of our chief Americanization agencies—the school, the naturalization court, the home, the community responsibility, per-

sonal friendships or a stake in America—with the man who goes from industry to industry, from town to camp, and who finally comes to regard the saloon as the one agency adapted to his needs and always open. By our present system the immigrant peasant who has lived all his life in his home village, becomes the itinerant workman of America and the greatest of our state “trotters.”

We shall never stabilize the labor market by legislation. We may facilitate it by a national system of employment exchanges which may also point the way, but the task is to be done in every small industry and every large industry under the spur of economy and in a spirit of national preparedness. The industry must install an employment department under capable management which will enable it to know its men and place them in the first instance effectively throughout the plant. This must be supplemented with a fair system of promotions and transfers based on efficiency records; and dismissals should not be made without giving the employee a hearing and attempting adjustment.

Most important in stabilizing the labor supply is the wide extension of insurance to include accidents, industrial diseases, health, sickness and service annuities. The basis of securing these is the widest possible education upon the subject of labor turnover—its cost and causes. We need first a campaign on labor turnover as a menace to preparedness which will cause every employer to look into his own status on this subject.

* * * *

It is the essence of justice that no man be deprived of the opportunity to earn his living because of lack of knowledge of English and citizenship unless every facility be provided for learning these and fitting himself for citizenship. It is, however, true that our schools will remain empty, even with compulsory education laws, as in Massachusetts, that our citizenship preparation and examinations will remain in most instances a political farce, until industries make American citizenship their immediate responsibility.

Amer. Acad. of Polit. and Social Science. 65:240-4. May, 1916.

LABOR UNIONS

AMERICANIZATION BY LABOR UNIONS

JOHN R. COMMONS

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This effort of organized labor to organize the unskilled and the immigrant is the largest and most significant fact of the present labor movement. Apart from the labor question itself, it means the enlistment of a powerful self interest in what may be termed the Americanization of the foreign born. For it is not too much to say that the only effective Americanizing force for the southeastern European is the labor union. The children of the foreigner become Americans through the public schools, but the foreigner himself receives no organized instruction in Americanism until the labor union reaches out for him. Aside from the public school and the labor unions the only influences that might be expected to lift him into the atmosphere of our democracy are those of the church and the electoral suffrage. The church to which he gives allegiance is the Roman Catholic, and, however much the Catholic Church may do for the ignorant peasant in his European home, such instruction as the priest gives is likely to tend toward an acceptance of their subservient position on the part of the workingmen. It is a frequently observed fact that when immigrants join a labor union they almost insolently warn the priest to keep his advice to himself.

Universal suffrage admits the immigrant to American politics within one to five years after landing. But the suffrage is not looked upon today as the sufficient Americanizing force that a preceding generation imagined. The suffrage appeals very differently to the immigrant voter and to the voter who has come up through the American schools and American life. The American has learned not only that this is a free government, but that its freedom is based on constitutional principles of an abstract nature. Freedom of the press, trial by jury, separation of powers, independence of the judiciary, and several other governmental and legal principles have percolated through his subconscious self, and when he contemplates public questions

these abstract principles have more or less influence as a guide to his ballot. But the immigrant has none of these. He comes here solely to earn a better living. The suffrage is nothing to him but a means of livelihood. Not that he readily sells his vote for money—rather does he simply “vote for his job.” He votes as instructed by his employer or his political “boss,” because it will help his employer’s business or because his boss will get him a job, or will, in some way, favor him and others of his nationality. There is a noticeable difference between the immigrant and the children of the immigrant in this regard. The young men, when they begin to vote, can be appealed to on the ground of public spirit; their fathers can be reached only on the ground of private interest.

Now it cannot be expected that the labor union or any other influence will greatly change the immigrant in this respect. But the union does this much: it requires every member to be a citizen or to have declared his intention of taking out naturalization papers. The reasons for doing this are not political; they are sentimental and patriotic. The union usually takes pride in showing that its members are Americans and have foregone allegiance to other countries. Again, the union frees its members from the dictation of employers, bosses and priests. Politicians, of course, strive to control the vote of organized labor, but so disappointing has been the experience of the unions that they have quite generally come to distrust the leader who combines labor and politics. The immigrant who votes as a unionist has taken the first step, in casting his ballot, towards considering the interests of others, and this is also the first step towards giving public spirit and abstract principles a place alongside private interest and his own job.

But there is another way, even more impressive, in which the union asserts the preëminence of principles over immediate self-interest. When the foreigner from Southern Europe is inducted into the union, then, for the first time does he get the idea that his job belongs to him by virtue of a right to work and not as the personal favor or whim of a boss. These people are utterly obsequious before their foremen or bosses, and it is notorious that nearly always they pay for the privilege of getting and keeping a job. This bribery of bosses, as well as the *padrone* system, proceeds from the deep-seated conviction that despotism is the natural social relation, and that therefore they must make terms

with the influential superior who is so fortunate as to have favor with the higher powers.

The anthracite coal operators represented such men, prior to joining the union, as disciplined and docile workmen, but in doing so they disregarded the fact that outside the field where they were obsequious they were most violent, treacherous and factional. Before the organization of the union in the coal fields these foreigners were given over to the most bitter and often murderous feuds among the ten or fifteen nationalities and the two or three factions within each nationality. The Polish worshippers of a given saint would organize a night attack on the Polish worshippers of another saint; the Italians from the one province would have a knife for the Italians of another province, and so on.

When the union was organized all antagonisms of race, religion and faction were eliminated. The immigrants came down to an economic basis and turned their forces against their bosses. "We fellows killed this country," said a Polish striker to Father Curran, "and now we are going to make it." The sense of a common cause, and, more than all else, the sense of individual rights as men, have come to these people through the organization of their labor unions, and it could come in no other way, for the union appeals to their necessities while other forces appeal to their prejudices. They are even yet far from ideal Americans, but those who have hitherto imported them and profited by their immigration should be the last to cry out against the chief influence that has started them on the way to true Americanism.

The World Today. October, 1903.

THE RIGHT TO LABOR IN JOY

EDWIN MARKHAM

Out on the roads they have gathered, a
hundred-thousand men,
To ask for a hold on life as sure as the
wolf's hold in his den.
Their need lies close to the quick of life
as rain to the furrow sown:
It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow
to the bone.

They ask but the leave to labor for a
taste of life's delight,
For a little salt to savor their bread, for
houses watertight.
They ask but the right to labor, and to
live by the strength of their hands
They who have bodies like knotted oaks,
and patience like sea-sands.

And the right of a man to labor and his
right to labor in joy
Not all your laws can strangle that right,
nor the gates of Hell destroy.
For it came with the making of man and
was kneaded into his bones,
And it will stand at the last of things on
the dust of crumbled thrones.

The Shoes of Happiness, and other poems. p. 126. New York, Doubleday, Page and co., 1913.

POLITICS

NATURALIZED IMMIGRANTS AND POLITICAL LEADERS

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

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"Come over here quick, Luigi," writes an Italian to his friend in Palermo. "This is a wonderful country. You can do anything you want to, and, beside, they give you a vote you can get two dollars for!" This Italian was an ignorant man, but not necessarily a bad man. It would not be just to look upon the later naturalized citizens as caring less for the suffrage than the older immigrants. Some of them appreciate the ballot all the more from having been denied it in the old country. For the Declaration of Independence and the Fourth of July they show a naïve enthusiasm which we Americans felt a generation ago, before our muck had been raked. "The spirit of revolt against wrong," says a well-known worker among immigrants, "is stronger in the foreign-born than in the natives, because they come here expecting so much democracy, and they are shocked by the reality they find. It is they who insist upon the complete program of social justice." Granting all this, there is no denying, however, that many of the later immigrants have only a dim understanding of what the ballot means and how it may be used.

Thirty years ago we knew as little of the ways of the ward boss as we knew of the megatherium or the great auk. The sources of his power were as mysterious as were the sources of the Nile before Speke and Baker. Now, thanks to Miss Addams and other settlement-workers who have studied him in action from close at hand, we have him on a film. The ward boss was the discoverer of the fact that the ordinary immigrant is a very poor, ignorant and helpless man, in the greatest need of assistance and protection. Nevertheless, this man has, or soon will have, one thing the politician greatly covets, namely, a vote. The petty politician soon learned that by befriending and aiding the foreigners at the right time, he could build up an "influence" which he might use or sell to his own enrichment. So the ward

politicians became pioneers in social work. For the sake of controlling votes, they did many things that the social settlement does for nothing.

It is Alderman Tim who gets the Italian a permit for his push-cart or fruit-stand, who finds him a city-hall job, or a place with a public-service corporation, who protects him if he violates law or ordinance in running his business, who goes his bail if he is arrested, and "fixes things" with the police judge or the State's attorney when he comes to trial. Even before Giuseppe is naturalized, it is Tim who remembers him at Christmas with a big turkey, pays his rent at a pinch, or wins his undying gratitude by saving his baby from a pauper burial or sending carriages and flowers to the funeral.

All this kindness and timely aid is prompted by selfish motives. Amply is Tim repaid by Giuseppe's vote on election day. But at first Giuseppe misses the secret of the politician's interest in him, and votes Tim-wise as one shows a favor to a friend. Little does he dream of the dollar-harvest from the public-service companies and the vice interests Tim reaps with the "power" he has built up out of the votes of the foreigners. If, however, Giuseppe starts to be independent in the election booth, he is startled by the Jekyll-Hyde transformation of his erstwhile friend and patron. He is menaced with loss of job, withdrawal of permit or license. Suddenly the current is turned on in the city ordinances affecting him, and he is horrified to find himself in a mysterious network of live wires. With the connivance of a corrupt police force, Tim can even ruin him on a trumped-up charge.

The law of Pennsylvania allows any voter who demands it to receive "assistance" in the marking of his ballot. So in Pittsburgh, Tim expects Giuseppe to demand "assistance" and to take Tim with him into the booth to mark his ballot for him. Sometimes the election judges let Tim thrust himself into the booth despite the foreigner's protest, and watch how he marks his ballot. In one precinct 92 per cent. of the voters received "assistance." Two Italians who refused it lost their jobs forthwith. The high-spirited North Italians resent such intrusion, and some of them threaten to cut to pieces the interloper. But always the system is too strong for them.

Thus the way of Tim is to allure or to intimidate, or even combine the two. The immigrant erecting a little store is vis-

ited by a building inspector and warned that his interior arrangements are all wrong. His friends urge the distracted man to "see Tim." He does so, and kind Tim "fixes it up," gaining thereby another loyal henchman. The victim never learns that the inspector was sent to teach him the need of a protector. So long as the immigrant is "right," he may put an encroaching bay-window on his house or store, keep open his saloon after midnight, or pack into his lodging-house more than the legal number of lodgers. Moved ostensibly by a deep concern for public health or safety or morals, the city council enacts a great variety of health, building and trades ordinances, in order that Tim may have plenty of clubs to hold over the foreigner's head.

So between boss and immigrant grows up a relation like that between a feudal lord and his vassals. In return for the boss's help and protection, the immigrant gives regularly his vote. The small fry get drinks or jobs, or help in time of trouble. The *padrone*, liquor-dealer, or lodging-house keeper gets license or permit or immunity from prosecution, provided he "delivers" the votes of enough of his fellow countrymen. The ward boss realizes perfectly what his political power rests on, and is very conscientious in looking after his supporters.

Of the Irish "gray wolves" in the Chicago council I was told, "Each of them is a natural ward leader, and will go through hell-fire for his people and they for him."

To the boss with the hold on the immigrant the requirement that the poor fellow shall live five years in this country before voting presents itself as an empty legal formality. In 1905 a special examiner of the Federal Department of Justice reported: "Naturalization frauds have grown and spread with the growth and spread of the alien population of the United States, until there is scarcely a city or county-seat town—where in some form these frauds have not from time to time been committed." In 1845 a Louisiana judge was impeached and removed for fraud, the principal evidence being that he had issued certificates to 400 aliens in one day. The legislature might have been more lenient could it have foreseen that in 1868 a single judge in New York would issue 2,500 of such certificates in one day! The gigantic naturalization frauds committed in the Presidential campaign of 1868 resulted in an investigation by Congress and in the placing of congressional elections under Federal supervision. During the month of October two New York judges issued 54,000 cer-

tificates. An investigation in 1902 showed about 25,000 fraudulent certificates of naturalization in use in that city.

There is hardly need nowadays to recount what Tim and his kind have done with the power they filched through the votes of Giuseppe and Jan and Michael. They have sold out the city to the franchise-seeking corporations. They have jobbed public works and pocketed a "rake-off" on all municipal supplies. They have multiplied jobs and filled them with lazy henchmen. By making merchandise of building laws or health ordinances, they have caused an unknown number of people to be crushed, or burned, or poisoned.

Worst of all, by selling immunity from police interference to the vice interests, they have let the race be preyed on and consumed in the bud. Thanks to their "protection," a shocking proportion of the inhabitants of our cities of mixed population are destroyed by drinking, dissipation, and venereal diseases.

It is in the cities with many naturalized foreigners or enfranchised negroes that the vice interests have had the freest hand in exploiting and degrading the people. These foreigners have no love for vice, but unwittingly they become the cornerstone of the system that supports it. The city that has had the most and the rawest foreign-born voters is the city of the longest and closest partnership of the police with vice. Tammany Hall first gained power by its "voting gangs" of foreigners, and ever since its Old Guard has been the ignorant, naturalized immigrants. Exposed again and again, and thought to be shattered, Tammany has survived all shocks, *because its supply of raw material has never been cut off*. Not the loss of its friends has ever defeated it; only the union of its foes. The only things it fears are those that bore from within—social settlements, social centers, the quick intelligence of the immigrant Hebrew, stricter naturalization, and restriction of immigration.

In every American city with a large pliant foreign vote have appeared the boss, the machine, and the Tammany way. Once the machine gets a grip on the situation, it broadens and entrenches its power by intimidation at the polls, ballot frauds, vote purchase, saloon influence, and the support of the vicious and criminal. But its taproot is the simple-minded foreigner or negro, and without them no lasting vicious political control has shown itself in any of our cities.

The machine in power used the foreigner to keep in power.

The Italian who opens an ice-cream parlor has to have a victualer's license, and he can keep this license only by delivering Italian votes. The Polish saloon-keeper loses his liquor license if he fails to line up his fellow-countrymen for the local machine. The politician who can get dispensations for the foreigners who want their beer on a Sunday picnic is the man who attracts the foreign vote. Thus, until they get their eyes open and see how they are being used, the foreigners constitute an asset of the established political machine, neutralizing the anti-machine ballots of an equal number of indignant intelligent American voters.

The saloon is often an independent swayer of the foreign vote. The saloon-keeper is interested in fighting all legal regulations of his own business, and of other businesses—gambling, dancehalls, and prostitution—which stimulate drinking. If "blue" laws are on the statute-book, these interests may combine to seat in the mayor's chair a man pledged not to enforce them. Even if the saloon-keeper has no political ax of his own to grind, his masters, the brewers, will insist that he get out the vote for the benefit of themselves or their friends. Since liberal plying with beer is a standard means of getting out the foreign vote, the immigrant saloon-keeper is obliged to become the debaucher and betrayer of his fellow-countrymen. In Chicago the worthy Germans and Bohemians are marshaled in the "United Societies," ostensibly social organizations along nationality lines, but really the machinery through which the brewers and liquor-dealers may sway the foreign-born vote not only in defense of liquor, but also in defense of other corrupt and affiliated interests.

The Old World in the New. pp. 266-76. New York, Macmillan. 1913.

WANTED—A PLACE TO PLAY

DENNIS A. MCCARTHY

Plenty of room for dives and dens
 (glitter and glare and sin!)
Plenty of room for prison pens
 (gather the criminals in!)
Plenty of room for jails and courts
 (willing enough to pay!)
But never a place for the lads to race;
 no, never a place for play!

Give them a chance for innocent sport,
 give them a chance for fun:
Better a playground plot than a court
 and a jail when the harm is done!
Give them a chance—if you stint them
 now, tomorrow you'll have to pay
A larger bill for a darker ill; so give
 them a chance to play!

A Round of Rimes," New York. Little, Brown & Co., 1915.

RECREATION

OUR RECREATION FACILITIES AND THE IMMIGRANT

BY VICTOR VON BOROSINI

STUDENT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS,
HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO

From May to October is the busiest season of the playgrounds in Chicago. Then the open-air facilities are taxed to their utmost, the gymnasiums, athletic fields and tennis courts, wading-ponds and swimming-pools. The playgrounds proper, with sand-piles and wading-ponds, are for the use of children under ten years of age, and are equipped with some apparatus for the enjoyment and play of the users. The wading-pond is one feature that attracts grown-up women to the parks. While their little ones enjoy the cool, refreshing water, or play in the sand, with absolute freedom from danger, the mothers sit on the benches, protected from the sun, sewing or doing other needlework and chatting with each other. Quite naturally, groups of one nationality form quickly, but as this sense is undeveloped in children, and as they mix with each other, their mothers will, sooner or later, do likewise. Children are mostly benefited, as the fatiguing day's work generally prevents the grown-up people from enjoying much physical exercise, except, perhaps, the swimming. The swimming-pools and beaches are the most popular features, and not only the men but the foreign women enjoy them twice a week. It does not cost anything, everything being free except transportation to the place. After the refreshing plunge in the pool they can often enjoy a concert given in the park or playground, the fresh air of a hot summer night being far better than the stifling heat in their homes. In some enlightened cities people are allowed to sleep out on the grass when the heat is especially oppressive, and thousands take advantage of it.

During the colder season the shower baths which are connected with the gymnasiums are constantly used, much more so than the different public bathhouses one finds in some sections of the city. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the man-

agement of the institutions is under different departments. At the playgrounds you generally find attendants willing to serve the public, under strict supervision as to their manner, while the bathhouses are often managed by incompetent friends of some politician in the city hall. The indoor and open-air gymnasiums are only for children over ten years of age and adults. The apparatus, different in gymnasiums for men and women, helps a large crowd to play and practice as they please, but likewise gives the gymnasium instructor opportunity to work out his scientific and more formal plan of physical work. Here, as well as in athletics, foreigners will form groups of their own, which are brought in contact with other groups at the time of contests. Then keen excitement reigns supreme; the friends of both competing teams are present and shout for their favorites. Defeat is accepted, but always with the hope of doing better next time. In winter, skating and tobogganning are enjoyed by young and old.

In every human being is a sense of beauty, though it may sometimes be dormant. None of the new recreation centers and playgrounds can fail to satisfy the artistic vein in anybody and make him content and happy for the time being. To counteract a desire to go to saloons for drinks and meals, we find very decent lunch counters and a few inviting tables in an especially fitted room, where simple meals and coffee and cocoa are served. Some of these places are stormed at noon, when school teachers, clerks and workingmen take their luncheons there. Public comfort stations connected with each playground and field house are, indeed, a great comfort, as well as an educational means for cleanliness. They also keep men from going into the saloons.

If any time is left at the noonday recess many people will take advantage of the public branch libraries established and maintained by the park commissioners. More foreigners would probably make use of the opportunity to increase their knowledge, and to enjoy a restful half-hour at other times, if these libraries were stocked with some foreign books and magazines. But almost no provision is made for the different nationalities living around the parks, and the result is that, as a rule, only young people are seen in the reading rooms. At some playgrounds children are sent home from the library by eight o'clock; adults are expected to take their places, and, in fact, have come in large numbers. Quite naturally, they objected to the presence of

crowds of children. In other cities the plan of having separate rooms for adults and children has been adopted with good success. Smoking is not allowed inside of the field houses and small parks, which is probably another reason for the men's not coming in greater numbers. During the afternoon and evening hours the large rooms and halls of the parks and recreation centers serve other purposes. Children come after school hours for socials, story-telling hours; girls, for some kind of training in cooking and domestic science. Often they have rehearsals at this time for a singing contest, or a little children's play, to be given at 8 P. M. in the large auditorium. Not only children play, but clubs and societies of grown-ups can have the privilege of the hall for the asking. Then, too, they have theatricals, musicals and dancing. Music they furnish themselves, also refreshments, and in the hall they keep order, while outside there are always special park policemen on the lookout. Men will still rush out and go to a saloon for a drink or smoke, though the drinking has been stopped to some extent. The influence of the hall upon dance halls in the neighborhood, and upon the way of dancing and the whole atmosphere, has been especially felt at the small parks, while in Bohemian and Polish neighborhoods they have been so successful that several dance halls back of saloons have had to be closed because their business has declined. Girls especially like nice environments and decent conditions, such as are found in the field houses. What people do in one of the South Chicago parks, at Bessemer, may be best demonstrated by two clippings from the *Daily Calumet*, their local paper:

"Business is good at Bessemer. Among other things that will take place at the park this week are as follows:

Tonight—

7:30. Bessemer Orchestra practice.

Tuesday—

2:30. Bessemer Housekeepers' Club, consisting of seventy-five wives, who get valuable training.

8:00. Strugglers' dance. Social club.

Wednesday—

8:00. Club for working boys.

8:00. Stereopticon lecture: Other worlds than ours.

8:30. Basketball. Armour Square *vs.* Bessemer.

Thursday—

8:00. Meteor Athletic Dance.

Friday—

8:00. Rehearsal of gymnasium classes for gymnastic demonstration. Glee Club rehearsal, under direction of students of University of Chicago.

Two hundred young people enjoyed themselves for hours on the Bessemer Park skating pond yesterday afternoon. If the cold weather continues it is very likely that there will be a local ice tourney at the park."

The larger parks are used in summer time by family groups for outings and picnics. Especially fine zoölogical gardens, green- and palm-houses, lakes and ponds attract hundreds and thousands every Sunday, and there is no age limit as to enjoyment. The ponds and lakes offer opportunity for boating and some fishing. Where large bodies of water lie not very far from the city, fishing continues to be one of the best-loved sports of the foreign population. If the results gratify the patience of the anglers, the diet in the kitchen experiences an agreeable change. Very few people, comparatively, keep up their cross-country tramps; it may be that the absence of forests, or woods, through which one may roam at one's pleasure, as in Europe, takes away a good deal of the fun. The abominations in the form of beer gardens or amusement parks can hardly be mentioned here. They are not fit places for recreation.

A very encouraging movement, when it shall have been more generally adopted, may provide for the healthy recreation of whole families. I refer to the city gardens. European communities are surrounded by large tracts of land ultimately to be built over, but for quite a time there is no prospect of the city's extending to them. Such lots are plotted out, flower and vegetable gardens started, and some kind of summerhouse added, having accommodations for pigeons and chickens. That the gardeners are a friendly community they show at the many happy fêtes on warm midsummer nights. The hard work done by every member of the family is rewarded by a variety of green vegetables, very helpful when everything is so expensive. At Bessemer Park, in South Chicago, last fall, we saw a splendid exhibit of the children's garden products, and the work of Mrs. Pelham's (of Hull House) friendly gardeners, belonging to ten different nationalities, was watched by everyone with great interest.

The public library and its branch stations, and different museums and collections, cater to the more intelligent of the foreign

element, and are very much used by them for their recreation. The same can be said of the social settlements which, though not maintained as a public institution by the municipality, serve the general public and keep their doors open for everybody, without distinction of race, color or religion. We will follow here especially what Hull House does for the recreation of its neighbors. The need and want of recreation for young and old is generally conceded; if they do not get it in one way they will get it in another, often under bad conditions in the city.

Each department has a worker or two as directors. The directors of different groups are not very anxious to do all the work themselves, but they give suggestions when the members are unable to produce good, workable ideas themselves. Every detail is worked out, and great is the satisfaction when public applause shows success of the "stunt" or performance. We find different dramatic associations for children, juniors and seniors, and their work has met a merited and general appreciation. The Italian, Lithuanian, Russian, Jewish, and Greek neighbors use the large auditorium for theatricals of their own; even deaf mutes once gave a representation in their sign language. Good music is offered to a large crowd of neighbors every Sunday afternoon, and this is not an amateur performance; good singers and players come from uptown to bring joy and pleasure to the hearts of the poor, who cannot pay for concerts. The second Sunday in January a musical society from Evanston gave Händel's "Messiah," and though the hall accommodates 800, many people had to be turned away for lack of space. Musical instincts are well developed among the Italians and Bohemians. The Hull House Music School has about one hundred pupils, and the Boys' Club Band may number fifty members. Their open-air concerts during the summer were events for the whole neighborhood.

During the winter months Sunday evening lectures are provided, which are of general interest and which often lead to prolonged discussions afterward. Travel, development of industries, biological, and sociological subjects are discussed. The audience generally fills the hall, and many are told "No more room." Special favorites are asked each year to lecture, and their coming is greeted with thundering applause. The Boys' Club offers its hospitality to about one thousand boys. The underlying idea was to get them out of the streets and alleys, pool-rooms and bowling alleys, and get them to a place where they

could have some recreation under decent surroundings and good influences. Pool tables and bowling alleys, manual training, gymnasium work, play and study rooms and a library are at the boys' disposal, and a staff of men and women work hard to get some influence with the boys. The most loved forms of recreation are parties and dances for the grown-ups.

The use of public schools after school hours for social purposes, municipal theaters and auditoriums for plays and dances, better library facilities, better and more beautiful housing of art galleries and other collections, increased bathing facilities, cheap and quick means of transportation to bring people out of the congested districts into the country have been established or are planned in all sections of the country. The progress made in the playground movement in the last nine years is astonishing, and it may be well to close this short survey of the recreation of the foreigner with the words of a Chicago student of the recreation centers. Mr. Eckhart says: "In these playgrounds lies the real beginning of the social redemption of the people in large cities. The greatest need of American life today is some common meeting-ground for the people, where business may be forgotten, friendships formed and cooperation established. The playground seems to have great possibilities in that direction. It is already the social center for the children, and it is becoming more so, more and more for adults. If we can systematically encourage this tendency and organize our playgrounds accordingly, we shall do much to satisfy a great need. A field house, in itself, is a good beginning in the way of bringing playgrounds to adults.

"The play festival is another feature which brings in the parents, and more and more games for the older people are coming to be added in most places. In many sections this year entertainments and fairs of one kind or another have been held on the playgrounds, and there is an increasing tendency for mothers especially to bring their small children and to visit with each other. A great deterrent to the use of playgrounds for adults is the name, which suggests that it is for children, and the other is the lack of recreation for older people and the general lack of benches for the parents. Finally, it seems to me the general public has as yet scarcely come to a true conception of the financial need of playground systems and the size of the checks that should be made out to sustain them."

